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MEMORIALS OF OLD SUFFOLK

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HENGRAVE HALL. SEAT OF JOHN WOOD, ESQ.

(Formerly Residence of J. Gage, F.S.A., Historian of the Thingoe Hundred.)

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MEMORIALS
OF OLD SUFFOLK

EDITED BY

VINCENT B. REDSTONE, F.R.HIST.S.

(Alexander Medallist of the Royal Hist. Soc., 1901.)

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"Social Life in England during the Wars of the Roses."
"The Gilds and Chantries of Suffolk,"
"Calendar of Bury Wills, 1355-1535."
"Suffolk Ship-Money, 1639-40," etc.

WITH MANY ILLUSTRATIONS

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1908

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SIR WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON

K.C.M.G., M.P., L.L.

PREFACE

SUFFOLK has not yet found an historian. Gage published the only complete history of a Suffolk Hundred; Suckling's useful volumes lack completeness. There are several manuscript collections towards a History of Suffolk—the labours of Davy, Jermyn, and others. Local historians find these compilations extremely useful; and, therefore, owing to the mass of material which they contain, all other sources of information are neglected. *The Records of Suffolk*, by Dr. W. A. Copinger shews what remains to be done.

The papers of this volume of the Memorial Series have been selected with the special purpose of bringing to public notice the many deeply interesting memorials of the past which exist throughout the county; and, further, they are published with the view of placing before the notice of local writers the results of original research.

For over six hundred years Suffolk stood second only to Middlesex in importance; it was populous, it abounded in industries and manufactures, and was the home of great statesmen. Yet throughout England little is known of its past greatness; this is owing

chiefly to the inertness of its own people. Who among Suffolk natives has attempted to write a history of the glorious Abbey of St. Edmunds? Who has sought to unravel the mystery connected with the birth and parentage of the poet Chaucer and the statesman Wolsey? Yet among the Ipswich archives material is at hand for such work to be successfully accomplished. Many volumes are published wherein writers claim to give a full account of the castles of England; and yet Suffolk writers are heedless of, or else ignore, the fact that in the pages of all these volumes no notice is taken of the many castles which stood, or are standing, throughout the county, and which have played so prominent a part in the history of England.

If the inhabitants of Suffolk thus neglect the history of their county, is it to be wondered at that men from the "shires," ranking among the leaders of present-day writers, should blast the character of Suffolk worthies through sheer ignorance of facts, and not only deprive the county of its past greatness, but even transplant its towns into other districts? Take, for instance, one example. What reader, other than a Suffolk man, would have passed over in silence the statements of the author of *Francis Cludde* that Bishop Gardner was born a bastard, and that Lowestoft is in Norfolk?

It is the wish of the Editor that the reading of the accompanying papers may stir up a deeper love among Suffolk folk for the past history of their county, and rouse in them a strong desire to learn yet more of the

associations connected with the noble memorials which abound throughout the district.

The Editor desires to take this opportunity of thanking all who have so readily assisted him to compile this volume, and to acknowledge that without their support the book could not have been presented to the public.

VINCENT B. REDSTONE.

Woodbridge,
October, 1908.

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HISTORIC SUFFOLK

By the Editor

SUFFOLK, owing to its geographical position, has played an important part in the early history of England. The history of the county before the seventeenth century is one of inexhaustible interest. Later, owing to the rapid growth in the more remote districts of England of those industries for which Suffolk had long been famous, the county took only a place of secondary importance. Its manufactures are now few. Cut off from the rest of the kingdom, it possesses a peculiar character of its own. This distinctive character is shared by its natives, and a recent novelist of repute has not failed to portray this charm in his last work. The late Seton Merriman, in his last years a resident at Melton, Suffolk, was particularly struck by the stolid piety of the natives, whose love of truth enables them to look a stranger "squarely in the eyes." He noted their strong love for their county. It was customary, he saw, for all those who left its shores to come home again. They always returned at last from wide wanderings, which a limited conversational capacity seemed to deprive of all interest. Those that stayed at home learned a few names, that's all. They spoke with their tongues and their teeth, but not with their lips; and with their throats, because they were of Teuton descent. Their very intonation differed widely from that of their

neighbours, the North folk. Many words used by them sound strange to other English ears; often their words are made to possess an unusual meaning; by a curious perversion of language "a lobster is to them a stoat"; "an eye" is a streamlet, and not an island.

It is in East Suffolk that the distinctive character of the native is the more firmly stamped. The breeze which blows from the sea over the flat stretches of sand and seaweed is the crispest, most invigorating air in the world. It is the spell of the wide marsh lands which largely affects the character of Suffolk sailors and landsmen. Politics trouble them but little, yet in the time of their country's need they shew, and have ever shewn, a bold front, and hold on to their purpose with bulldog tenacity. To men of the "shires" they are known as "silly Suffolks." Here, again, to the Suffolk man an ordinary English word bears a contrary meaning. Richard Hakluyt, the Suffolk rector of Wetheringset (1590-1616), in his preface to the second edition of *The English Voyages*, writes of "the base and *sillie* beginnings of a huge and overspreading Empire." The Suffolk historian, Reyce, who lived early in the seventeenth century, when alluding to the siege of Ostend (1601-1604) mentions the fact that persons dwelling twelve miles inland from the Suffolk coast "heard the Cardinal's cannon when he uncharitably raged against *so silly* an enemy." In another place he states that the Suffolk shore "is ready for foreign invasion as is confirmed by the frequent proof of the *silly* Dunkirkes." A silly Suffolk man is of a simple, homely disposition, but, owing to the depth of religious feeling which possesses his soul, he makes manifest in the hour of danger a bold, stubborn heart, and a strong, sturdy hand.

Reyce lived in the highlands of Suffolk, and could not appreciate the beauties of its shore. He knew of the Dunkirkes' invasions only by report. He dreaded the idea of a habitation by the sea coast, "where the

"The Street," Coddenham.

air is not pure by reason of the winds which blow from the sea"! Yet East Suffolk has ever been more populous than West Suffolk; its inhabitants have been largely freemen and sailors, whilst those of the West, under the influence of monastic rule and bondage, have been mainly serfs, villeins, and peasants. Tusser, a writer of the sixteenth century, and a native of Essex, who dwelt for some years at Ipswich, has written a poem in praise of Suffolk. In it he remarks that the county has "more wealth, more people, more work, more profit, less poor" than other counties of England. All classes possess an independent spirit. No one baronial lord ever claimed authority over a full, wide and extensive domain in Suffolk.

Compact villages are the exception rather than the rule in Suffolk. Open villages are more numerous. There is no great congregating of families about a church or hall. Occasionally there appear upon the side of a high-road diminutive rows of houses known as "The Street," but they stand away from the old village, and are for the most part of very recent growth, owing their existence to the use of the mail-coach.

The earliest records of Suffolk lie scattered among its villages, and before they are accessible to the student of local history, investigations must be made along the old highways, in ploughed fields, and beneath ancient pasture lands. A search of this nature is necessary owing to the utter destruction of all documentary evidence which may have existed prior to the wide devastation wrought by the hordes of Norse warriors in East Anglia before the tenth century. Little reliance can be placed upon the narratives of monkish historians, so far as they give the early history or geography of Suffolk. Bede says, "What transactions took place in the Province of the East Angles was partly made known to us from the writings and traditions of our ancestors, and partly by the relation of the most reverend Abbot

Esius"; but when he chronicles the leading events of English history, over fifty-four in number, he does not consider one single event in the history of East Anglia as "worth preservation in memory." Ralph, Abbot of Coggeshall, "who took care faithfully to note down certain visions which he heard from men worthy of respect for the edification of many" (1207-1218), considers nothing but the supernatural to have occurred in Suffolk. Gervase of Canterbury[1] had knowledge of only two Suffolk rivers—the Stour and the Spanne! The latter name is to be met with only in the registers of Bury Abbey, and is there given as the name of the small streamlet spanned by the Abbot's Bridge in Bury St. Edmunds. England's earliest cartographers, too, betrayed scanty knowledge of the county when they attempted the plotting of the Roman roads. One, an inmate of St. Alban's Abbey, marked the principal highway of Suffolk as leading from Orford Castle to Norwich, Cambridge, and Grimsby; whilst another monk considered the Ickneild Way to have connected Salisbury, Bury St. Edmunds, and Norwich. Others considered Suffolk to have possessed but one Peddars' Way, and that a pilgrim's way in the far western division of the county; whereas there were many Peddars' Ways, along which chapmen and pedlars journeyed from fair to fair with their goods; the Peddars' Ways of Ipswich and Dunwich were noteworthy tracks. With data of so unreliable a character for the compilation of early history, it is well for the historian to chronicle as far as he is able the facts which the soil of the land itself can be made to deliver up, and to let these facts speak for themselves.

No evidence of a settlement of the Celts is visible, unless the names of some of the Suffolk streams, such as the Stour, Ore, Blyth, Deben and Naverne, are of early British origin; but their conquerors, the Romans, have

[1] *Roll Series*, vol. ii., p. 426.

left indelible proofs of their presence. The lay of the Ninth *Iter* of Antonine still remains a disputed question, although the existence of the remains of substantial villas, of massive camp-walls, and of two Stratfords, seem clearly to point out the way of the Roman road from Colchester to Burgh Castle. The sites found by the very earliest inhabitants of the district suitable for the habitations of man have remained, unto this day, selected spots for the erection of dwellings. Hence where the excavator turns up the soil and exposes to view the remains which mark the early existence of a Roman villa, whose walls were highly decorated, and whose conveniences were all that modern man could wish for, there, too, will be found inevitable proofs of the Saxon stronghold or burgh, on which in after days the Norman lord erected his castle of wood or stone, and on which, subsequently, there stood the parish church and the manorial hall. Suffolk has many a site of this nature dotted over its surface. Fortunately, care has been taken to preserve some of the most interesting features of Roman Suffolk. Within the museums of Bury St. Edmunds and Ipswich may be seen valuable collections of Romano-British ornaments and pottery found within the county. The most unique and the most valuable of Roman remains in Suffolk are those which may still be seen standing *in situ*. Of these the two most important are the walls of the *castrum* at Burgh Castle in North Suffolk, and the brick tomb beneath Eastlow Hill, Rougham, in West Suffolk. Within this tomb was found a coffin of lead containing the body of the former occupier of a neighbouring Roman villa. Both of these venerable monuments of the past have the same massive appearance which they presented when the builders' hands left them fifteen hundred years ago. Strange it is that, while in the neighbouring counties towns are standing whose very names, such as Colchester, Brancaster, and Caister, signify the early establishments of

Roman camps or forts, all like traces of Roman occupation in Suffolk have been swept away. There must have been some Roman camps and strongholds within the area of Suffolk.

In the succeeding chapters an attempt will be made to describe some of the existing Roman remains, as well as the noble castles, monasteries and churches, the towns and industries, and the chief historical events of which Suffolk has been the scene. Patriotic inhabitants will love to visit the great buildings reared by their forefathers which speak of the bygone glories of Suffolk, and to examine for themselves the wealth of historic treasures that can be discovered within its borders; and strangers to Suffolk will be glad to learn what England owes to the men of this quiet corner of East Anglia.

ROMAN VILLAS AND SAXON BURGHS

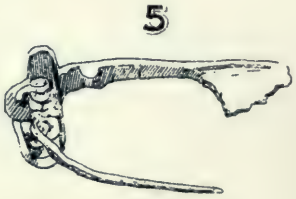
By the Editor

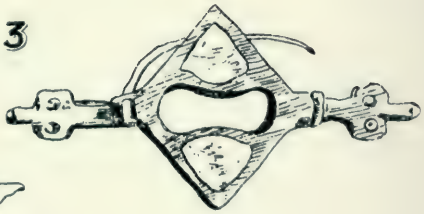
NO complete chronicle of the invasion of the Angles has come down to us, yet it is clear that the progress of the population was inland, and the far greater number of local designations which are peculiar to either district—north and south of the Waveney—points to a real individuality in the folks who conquered Norfolk and Suffolk. Lying as Suffolk does between the Stour, the Waveney, and the Ouse, the construction of the Devil's Dyke on the west, and the existence of the shore of the North Sea on the east, made the inhabitants of the district an insular people. According to Abbo de Fleury, the western boundary once lay open to attack, but to ward off the frequent incursions of the enemy, a mound, like to a lofty wall, protected by a deep fosse was thrown up. This fosse is the Devil's Dyke on Newmarket Heath. There are other remarkable fosses in West Suffolk which puzzle antiquaries as to their origin; chief among them are those which form the supposed Celtic enclosure on Clare Common, and the Warbanks, claimed by some to be early British earthworks. The absence of any "finds" upon these sites makes it difficult to come to any conclusion upon the subject, especially as the earthworks are of irregular formation and lack symmetry to mark out any object in their construction.

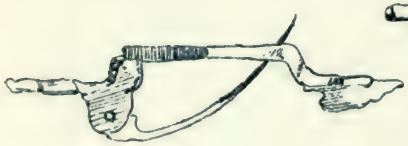
Lying throughout various parts of the county are

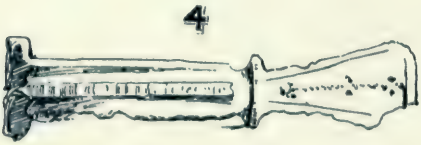
many unbroken signs of ditch, fosse and embankment, enclosing an area of ground within which, in remotest times, there stood, as has been already noted, villa, castle or hall. Several parishes have enclosures traditionally known as Castle Fields, yet the present condition of the sites, and the distance of the fields from all modern habitations, do not support the idea of the existence of a former dwelling upon the spot. However, should the plough have upturned the soil, and should a shower of rain have fallen upon it soon after its upheaval, numerous *fictile* fragments may be easily collected, proving that local tradition always bears an element of truth. The Castle Hards (? Yards) at Bramfield, Castle Field at Ipswich, Castle Hills at Ashfield Magna and Hunston, Castle Field at Bredfield, and Red Castle at Pakenham are but a few examples of the many entrenched lands which yield abundantly upon a ploughed-up surface fragments of pseudo-Samian ware, numerous *tesseræ* and bronze ornaments, undoubtedly of Roman origin. The existence of Roman villas within the limits of all parochial bounds throughout the county implies the peaceful settlement of the Romans within this southern portion of East Anglia, and marks a state of general prosperity throughout the district.

The local Field Club at Woodbridge turned its attention towards excavation works upon the site of a neighbouring "castle field" at Burgh, and was well rewarded for its work. The field bore, and still bears, traces of entrenchments constructed upon three sides of a rectangle, three hundred yards in length and two hundred and twenty-five in width. Within the north-east angle formed by these entrenchments was a mound which formed the original "*burg*"; on the Ordnance Survey it is marked "Site of Roman Camp." The diameter of the area, enclosed by a circular fosse, was about fifty feet, the breadth of the fosse or trench was nine feet,









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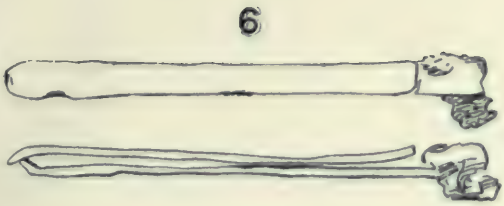
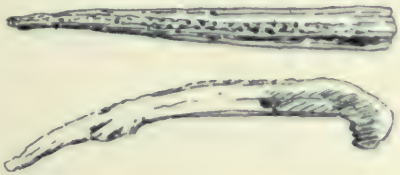
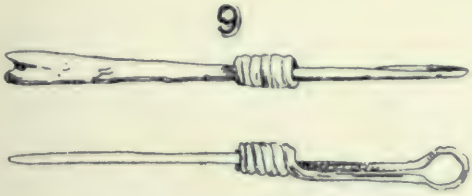
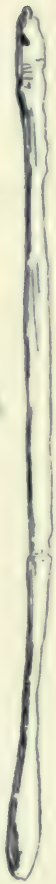








"Camp" at Burgh, near Woodbridge.

its depth five feet. Quantities of all kinds of rubbish had been thrown into the trench, and it was among this rubbish that many objects of interest were found. Professor W. Ridgeway, who visited the spot during the time of the excavations, formed an opinion, from an inspection of the quantity of building material which was found, that the remains then uncovered were those of an extensive house erected about the year A.D. 400 upon the site of an earlier habitation. The illustrations and the enumeration of some of the more interesting "finds" may encourage Suffolk antiquaries to excavate similar sites within their own neighbourhood (see Appendix A).

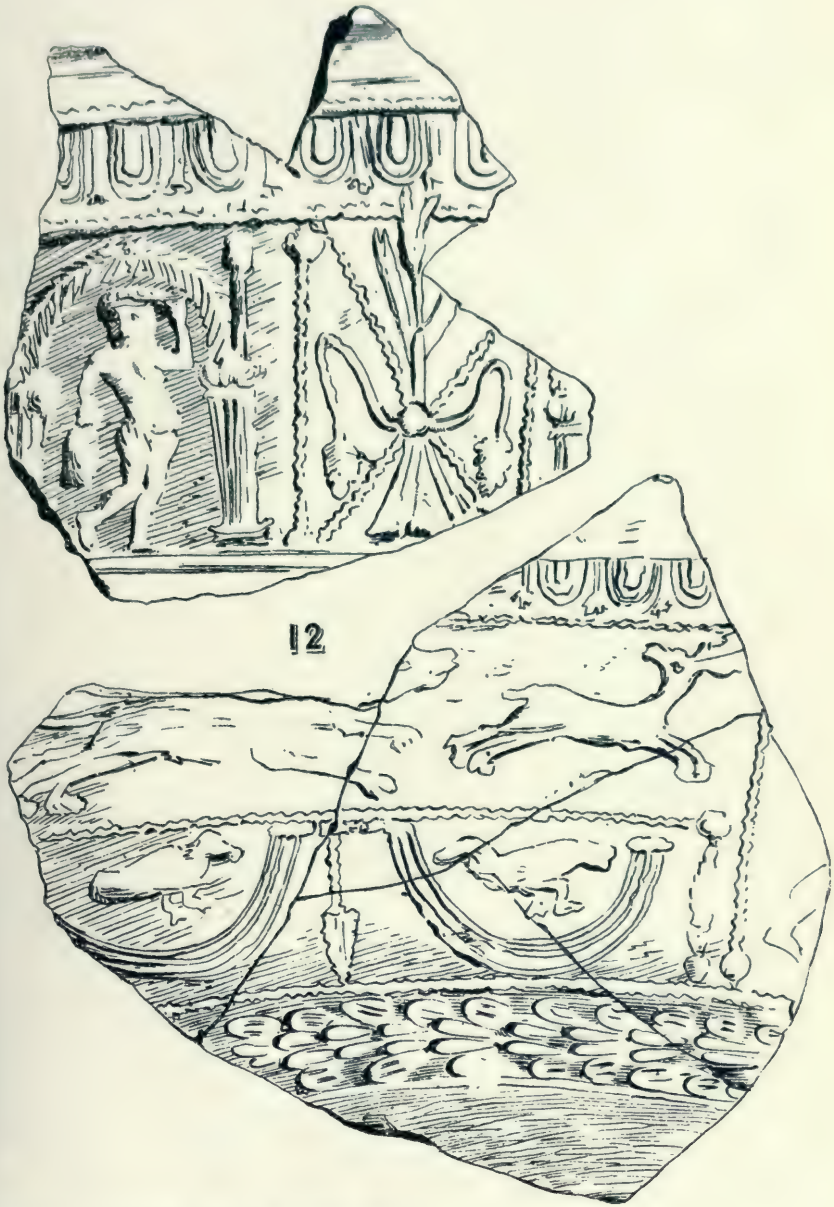
A like work more recently carried on by members of the Aldeburgh Literary Society has led to the same satisfactory results; the objects found when excavations were in progress mark the undoubted fact that a Roman villa stood on the banks of the river Ore.

The Devil's Dyke formed the boundary of the kingdom, as well as of the diocese, of East Anglia.

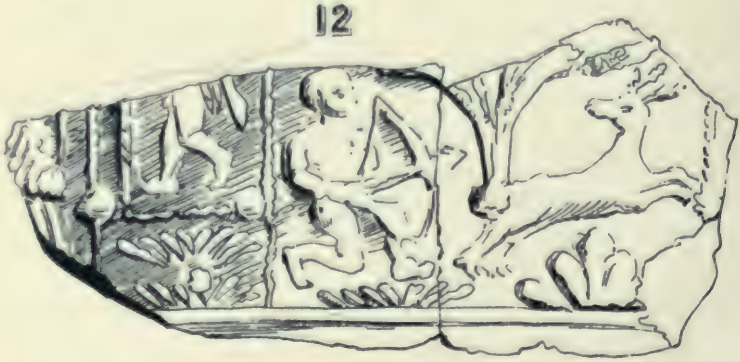
"The Angles spread along the Yare and Orwell to march in triumph to the massive gates of Lincoln." The other estuaries and rivers of Suffolk, which in Saxon days were mighty waters and flooding streams, were also waterways used by the Angles to penetrate into the villa-settlements and to establish permanent abodes. The Romano-British occupiers of the villas were as much Welsh, or foreigners, to the Angles of Suffolk as were the inhabitants of the West who fled into the fastnesses of Wales to the Saxons. "The Walas," says the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, "fled the Engles like fire." The stream of Angle invaders was steady, yet sure. Within a century after the Romans left the island, an Anglian kingdom was established over which the Uffingas held sway. It is impossible to state which was the principal settlement, or in which district the overlord fixed his dwelling. According to Bede, Redwald,

son of Tytili, son of Uffa, kept his court at Rendlesham. Later historians consider the earthwork known as Offton Castle to have been the defensive site of an Uffinga's, if not of Uffa's, dwelling. Offton is not far distant from Hadleigh, where the Danish chief, Guthrum, is reputed to have taken up his residence after the treaty of Wedmore. Inhabitants of Hadleigh point out a tomb in their parish church which they believe covers the spot where he was interred. Sudbury is another town which claims to have been the home of early kings; it finds a rival in Dunwich. Both of these towns appear to have been of importance in the seventh century; they were frequently visited by the bishops of the diocese.

St. Felix, the first bishop of East Anglia (636-653), had the see of his bishopric appointed for him in the city Dommoc (? Dunwich). When in Kent he visited Archbishop Honorius, and expressed a strong desire to be sent to preach the "Word of Life" to the Angles. Christianity had been preached to the Angles of Suffolk before the days of St. Felix, for Paulinus visited the court of Redwald at Rendlesham, and there exacted the promise from the fugitive Edwin of Northumbria that he would accept Christianity upon his restoration to his kingdom. Redwald himself had been so far converted to the Christian faith as to cause the erection of a Christian altar in the temples beside the altars of the deities of his race. It is impossible to give a reliable account of the early progress of Christianity in Suffolk, for it is difficult to understand the seeming contradictions in Bede's narrative. This historian tells us that "Sigebert, brother of Eorpwald, successor of Redwald, was baptized as a Christian when he was an exile in France. On his return to East Anglia upon his brother's death (A.D. 632), he sought to imitate the good institutions he had seen in France, and set up a school for youths to be instructed in literature. He was assisted therein by Bishop Felix, who came to him from Kent,



AN CAMP" AT BURGH, NEAR WOODBRIDGE.



Objects found on the Site of the "

and who furnished him with masters and teachers after the manner of that country." In another place he mentions that Fursey, a holy man of Ireland, came into the province of the East Angles (633), and was received by King Sigebert, whom, elsewhere, he names as King of the East Angles. Mistakes may have arisen by ascribing to the Sigeberts of the East Saxons (the one mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as baptized by Bishop Mellitus, 604, the other Sigebert the Good) the acts of Sigebert of East Anglia. Drayton (1563-1631) honours St. Felix's memory in the following lines:

> "So Burgundy to us three men most reverend bare . . .
> Of which was Felix first, who in th' *East Saxon* reign
> Converted to the faith King Sigbert . . . ."
>
> —*Polyolbion* xxiv.

The conflicting statements made concerning the missionary labours of St. Felix lend no support to the current tradition that the Burgundian apostle landed on the Suffolk shores, or to the tradition that he was buried at Felixstowe. This seaside town obtained its name from the "stow" or place where the monks of the priory of St. Felix in Walton, a cell to Rochester Abbey, held their annual fair. There is no church in Suffolk named in honour of its first saintly bishop. Two Suffolk villages exist which are supposed to have been named after him—Flixton, in Lothingland, with only the ruins of a church standing; and Flixton, in the Elmham district. Rumburgh church, when it formed part of the old priory, was known as the Church of St. Michael and St. Felix. Strange it is that the founder of the see of Norwich has no fitting memorial of his labours standing within the county of Suffolk. Paulinus, his contemporary, is said to have written in metre the *Book of the Life and Passion of St. Felix, Confessor*, which the venerable Bede translated into prose. Bishop Paulinus died 644, St. Felix died 653!

The legend of St. Fursey contains statements as difficult to understand as those which are to be found in the legend of St. Felix. Bede makes mention of Fursey as an Irish missionary to the East Angles who was favourably received by Sigebert, the ruling prince of the East Angles, 633. Overcome by infirmity, he retired to a monastery which he had erected in a pleasant woodland district (not a wild and desolate spot, according to a recent writer) upon a fort named by the Angles, "Cnobheresburg." This monastery was afterwards handsomely endowed by King Anna and his nobles. During his illness he was subject to many visions. Upon recovery he departed to preach the Faith of Christ in Gaul, leaving the monastery under the care of his brother, Fullan, and the priests, Gobban and Dicullas. It is generally believed that Burgh Castle was the scene of his labours and the site of his monastery, but there are no remains marking the former presence of a largely endowed religious house within the Roman walls still standing upon the spot. It may be that the walls of the monastery were of timber, and that they were utterly destroyed by the Danes in one of their incursions, which brought ruin to all Anglian homes.

Sigebert, too, is stated to have erected a monastery, which, without any support from history, is considered by the chronicler of Croyland Abbey to have been the first religious house standing upon the future site of Bury Abbey, at Bedricsworth.

Burgh Castle, the traditional site of Cnobheresburg, is held by many antiquaries to have been occupied by a troop of Roman horsemen as a camp. Bede, however, makes no allusion to such an occupation; he describes the place as a fort, and explains the word Cnobheresburg to mean the city of Cnobhere (*Cnobheri urbs*).

The chronicler of Croyland Abbey considered the antiquity of "Betrichesworth" more ancient than that of Ely, as it was the place where King Sigebert received

Burgh Castle.

Furseus "*in castro quod in lingua Anglorum vocabatur Cnobheresburgh.*"

The late Canon Raven recognised in Burgh Castle the *Gariannonum* of the *Notitia Imperii*, and strongly supported the hypothesis of the existence of a fourth wall, of which not a single brick remains to prove the correctness of his views. He accounted for the entire absence of all material which formed a west wall by the supposition that "its fragments have doubtless been dispersed over the vicinity of the camp. Some, perhaps, underlie the oozy bed of the Waveney, or even of Breydon Water. Some may be looked for in farm-buildings, in cottages, or in the walls of the parish church of Burgh Castle. Much, very likely, has been ground to powder on the roads of the Lothingland Hundred." If this had been the lot of the west wall, how is it the other three walls stand intact and undisturbed? Or how is it that the walls of neighbouring farm-buildings, cottages, and parish church do not present the appearance of structures formed by the use of bricks similar to those yet visibly standing where they have stood for over fifteen centuries? There is not the slightest trace or evidence of the existence of a west wall. The site has the resemblance of the castle field at Burgh, near Woodbridge, already described; with, however, this great difference, that whereas the "*burg*" near Woodbridge was surrounded on three sides by a vallum of earth between two deep fosses, the "*burg*" of Burgh Castle was defended on three sides by lofty walls standing on a vallum between two fosses. It is possible that St. Fursey erected his dwelling upon the "*burg*" of Cnobhere within the walls of Burgh Castle, for the situation and character of the site correspond with the description of them as given by Bede.

Even if the Irish missionary to the Angles never visited Lothingland, in which the ruins of Burgh Castle stand, yet the massive walls are so grand and noble,

their structure is so remarkable, that no memorial of Old Suffolk can demand greater attention, or delight the observer more completely than they.

Mr. G. E. Fox, F.S.A., the well-known Silchester excavator, in a paper on Roman Suffolk, wherein he supports the hypothesis of a Roman station at Burgh Castle, thus describes the present ruins:

"According to the plan on the Ordnance Survey map, the walls enclose a quadrangular area roughly 640 feet long by 413 wide, the walls being 9 feet thick, with a foundation 12 feet in width. The angles of the station are rounded. The eastern wall is strengthened by four solid bastions, one standing against each of the rounded angles, the other two intermediate, and the north and south sides have one each, neither of these being in the centre of the side, but rather west of it. The quaggy ground between the camp and the stream would be an excellent defence against sudden attack."

There is one peculiarity in the construction of wall and bastion which must be noted. For a height of some seven feet from the ground the bastions are not bonded into the wall; above that height, for the remaining seven feet ten inches, they are bonded into it.

The solid towers have round holes in the tops two feet deep and two feet in diameter, which may possibly indicate some method of planting ballistæ upon them, though from the restricted diameter of each bastion, only fifteen feet, there would be little space for such engines to work in.

The southern wall of the station forms an obtuse angle with the eastern one, and was evidently so constructed to bring the south-west angle of the enclosure as near the river as possible. Two objects seem to have been present to the minds of the builders of the station—the first, to dominate the waterway; the second, to occupy a position high above the marshes for the sake of overlooking as wide an extent of the neighbouring country as possible.

Only two gates remain—the east, which is the principal one, and the north, which is only a postern

five feet wide, situated to the west of the tower on that side. The eastern gate has a width of eleven feet eight inches. It is in the centre of the eastern wall, and is commanded by towers, which rise more than one hundred feet apart on each side of it.

The body of the walls is of flint-rubble concrete, and there are lacing courses of tiles, six of which may yet be seen. These courses run two tiles deep into the wall, and are three in width. The spaces between these tile courses vary from one foot eight inches to two feet one inch in width, showing a faced flint facing. The walls are faced on the inside, but the lacing courses are irregular and fewer than on the outside, and the flint facing is ruder also.

The mortar employed in the outer facing is pink with coarsely pounded tile.

Very few relics have been found within the area enclosed by the walls; those which have been found are the same as those usually found upon the former sites of Roman villas. The coins were of a very late Roman period. An urn dug up at Burgh Castle bears a strong resemblance both in material and ornamentation to the Romano-British cinerary urns often found deposited in the numerous tumuli which abound upon the extensive heaths of both East and West Suffolk.

The early history of Suffolk is bound up with the history of its saints, men and women, who, had they lived in far more remote days, would have been deified, as were their royal ancestors—Odin, Thor, Balder, Freya—and their fellow-heroes who were also "consecrated for valour." Foremost among Suffolk saints of princely birth were St. Edmund, St. Ethelbert, St. Etheldreda, St. Jurmin, and St. Botolph; all of whom, save perhaps St. Edmund, are closely connected with East Suffolk.

Iken, near Aldeburgh, whose parish church still bears the name of St. Botolph, is identified by tradition with

Ikanho—"the dismal spot surrounded by swamps where St. Botolph first built a monastery." For some years the relics of this saint were in the keeping of a priestly guardian at Grundisburgh; probably the chapel of Burgh, mentioned in the will of Walter, Bishop of Norwich, contained the chest which held the saintly relics. Burgh is an adjacent parish to Grundisburgh; its chapel, not its church, was dedicated to St. Botolph. Marianus Scotus, a Bury monk, asserts that the bodies of St. Botolph, Bishop, and St. Jurmin were removed to Bury in the time of Abbot Leofstan (1044-1065). He continues: "When the body of St. Botolph was translated from Grundisburgh the night was pitch dark, but to aid the progress of the priests a column of light appeared above the shrine and dispelled the darkness." To this day the natives of the two villages, Burgh and Grundisburgh, maintain that within the field whereon the chapel of St. Botolph formerly stood there lies buried a golden calf which once had a place within its walls. St. Jurmin, whose relics were so eagerly sought after by the Bury monks, was also an East Suffolk saint, whose body had lain for more than three centuries at Blythburgh. The Benedictine monks heeded not the prayer of St. Jurmin engraved upon the leaden chest which contained the remains of the son of Anna, King of the East Angles, although curses were uttered against those who should remove the body from its place of burial. Altars were reared in Bury Abbey in honour of these saints, and from them the monks gathered no small amount of gain —the gifts of pious pilgrims to the shrines of ancestral heroes.

No Suffolk saint was of so world-wide a fame as was St. Edmund. Much has been written concerning him; the greater part of these writings, however, deals with his miraculous intervention on behalf of his suffering believers. The legend concerning his death has grown more incomprehensible as it has developed from a simple

statement in the early chronicles to an extensive history in the poems and narratives of his worshippers. Lord Francis Hervey, in his *Corolla Sancti Edmundi*, has faithfully chronicled the marvellous growth of the legend of the King's death. The unvarnished tale of a heroic monarch's martyrdom can be sifted from the mass of legendary lore by the perusal of Lord Hervey's work. Briefly stated, the facts of King Edmund's death in the year 870 are as follows:

Edmund, a native of England, became, upon the death of his uncle Athelstan, the chosen ruler of the East Angles. For ten years he governed his country in peace, but the support given by him to the northern chiefs in their contest with the Danes—Hingwar, Ubba, and Beorn—gave the Northmen a pretext for invading his country. The struggle was sharp and fierce, and in their several fights with Anglian foemen the Danes owned that "never worse hand-play met they among Englishmen" than they met with in their struggles with the inhabitants of East Anglia. For a time the pirates encamped at Thetford, while Edmund found refuge in a neighbouring castle, probably an early burgh fortress erected at Eye. In a subsequent engagement at Sutton, according to Archdeacon Hermann, the King met with his death, "the bravest outnumbered by a hostile train is but brave in vain." It is most likely that the Sutton referred to is Suddon, a hamlet of Eye, standing in close proximity to Hoxne, the traditional site of St. Edmund's martyrdom. There does not appear to be sufficient reliable evidence for us to accept the view that the battlefield on which King Edmund fell lies on Sutton Heath, east of the river Deben.

TRACES OF SAXONS AND NORSEMEN

BY THE EDITOR

BISHOP THEODRED mentions St. Edmund's Church in his will (*circa* 950), but unfortunately does not give any particulars as to the translation of the body from its first place of sepulture to Bedericsworth, although he makes mention of the bishop's see at Hoxne. It seems probable that the presence of a church and a chapel at Hoxne dedicated in honour of two East Anglian kings was one of the causes of the removal of the bishop's episcopal seat from Elmham in Suffolk. It is believed by many authorities that North Elmham, in Norfolk, was the seat of the East Anglian bishopric, but the extensive minster ruins, the site of the bishop's palace, and the many churches of South Elmham, all belonging to the episcopal barony of Norwich, point to the Suffolk site as holding the prior claim. Furthermore, Bishop Theodred bequeathed, by his will, a hide of land in Mendham to the "minster"; this land the Domesday Book records as held by Anglian bishops in the days of Stigand and Ailmer, and subsequently by Herfast, Bishop of Elmham. The very epithet "old" appears to imply the disuse of the building as a "mother-church" upon the foundation of the see in another district—namely, either at Thetford or at Norwich.

There is one other probable suggestion as to the origin of the Old Minster ruins of Suffolk. At

Rumburgh there was, as before stated, a priory dedicated to St. Michael and St. Felix. In *Domesday* mention of this foundation most likely comes under the statement that the chapel at Wisset was served by twelve priests. There is no mention of Rumburgh itself in the *Domesday Survey* except under Elmham, to this effect, viz., that forty acres in Elmham belonged to the church at Rumburgh. Is it possible that an earlier priory, monastery, or "minster" was erected in honour of St. Felix in Elmham, and that its college of priests or monks was removed to a new home in the neighbouring parish of Wissett?

Whatever may have been their origin, the ruins of the Old Minster form one of the most remarkable of the old memorials of Suffolk. They stand far remote from the abode of man, and can only be found by the help of a local guide. Situated within an extensive field of pasture, they must be reached by crossing various artificial dykes which formerly surrounded the site of an apparently defensive area. These entrenchments are considered to be of Roman construction. The area of the square enclosure is little more than four acres; the fosse on each side is about a hundred yards in length; the earth thrown out of the fosse forms a bank within the enclosure. The ruins now standing are about a hundred feet by thirty feet, and consist of three distinct parts, which mark the chancel, nave and entrance. The entrance-court at the west end is twenty-six feet long, and has an opening for the west door and two apertures formerly used as windows. The central part of the ruins, in length thirty-eight feet, is not visible from the west doorway owing to the presence of a dividing wall. Light was obtained in this part of the building by the construction of three windows on either side. There is an easy approach into the eastern portion of the ruins by passing between piers, which probably supported a chancel arch. The third part is apsidal in figure, and is twenty-six feet in length from the arch to the trace

of the outer edge of the apse. The walls are most perfect in the west compartment, and on the south side they are eighteen feet high. Various conjectures have been made as to the age of the ruins; some antiquaries date them from the first half of the seventh century, but others, with greater accuracy, consider the walls to have been erected in the latter part of the tenth or in the early half of the eleventh century. One remarkable feature in the formation of the walls is the entire absence of worked stone; the material consists of large flints collected from the surface of the neighbouring lands or from a stone pit. They are firmly embedded in mortar. The lower course of the north wall of Mettingham Church, evidently of pre-Norman workmanship, is of similar construction. As the character of the buildings is so little known, and since there is no publication of easy access to the general reader from which he may gain some knowledge of the most ancient architectural memorial in Suffolk, it is well to add, even though slight reiteration is necessary, the opinion of so eminent an architect as the late Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., who visited the ruins in 1897 with the express purpose of finding out whether the features of the Old Minster corresponded with those of the seventh-century Saxon churches of St. Pancras at Canterbury, Lyminge and Bradwell. He was convinced that Bisi, fourth Bishop of Dunwich, fixed his headquarters at South Elmham when he formed a second see in East Anglia. In a letter to the late Canon Manning, dated 11th October, 1897, he states:—

"As far as I know, no adequate description of the building has been given before. I will add a few notes upon it. The ruins stand within a rectangular enclosure of banks. The walls are built of local flints and pebbles arranged in regular courses on the outside, and bedded in a mortar so hard that it seems able to resist the weather and the destructive efforts of the ivy, which obscures and disfigures some part of the ruin. Its plan is tripartite, having a western chamber with a doorway in the middle of the west wall, and two doorways in the east wall, leading into

the nave; beyond this was the presbytery with its apse. Its total length was about 104 feet. All the walls of the western chamber exist to a considerable height, and the south wall of the nave; but a large part of this has been forced out of its place by a fine tree which grows close to it. A good deal remains of the east corners of the nave, but of all the presbytery only foundations are left.

"The salient angles, both inside and out, have been of wrought stone, all of which has been taken away. Re-entering angles are neatly formed in the rubble walling without stone quoins. The wall-faces have been finished on both sides with plaster of the same quality as the mortar, and some of it still remains. The putlogs used in the building have been three-cornered in section, the bottom being about 9 in. wide and the sides about 7 in. This form seems to have been used to give putlogs as broad a bearing as possible upon the newly-built walls. I do not remember to have seen it in any other place. All the floor had gone in the part where we dug, but from some fragments which were found in the digging, I think it was of lime and sand, and not less than 2 in. in thickness. It is possible some may remain in the western part of the building, where the ground is higher.

"The western entrance and the two doorways between the forebuilding and the nave go straight through the walls, as is usual in Saxon work. The lower parts of the jambs have been much knocked away, but the upper parts and the springing of the arches are left, so that the form is easy to be seen. The arrises have been worked in stone, which is all gone. There have been two windows on each side of the forebuilding, and apparently three on each side of the nave. They have had stone dressings on the outside, and are widely splayed on the inside only, which is another indication of very early date. I looked carefully for evidence of the use of brick, or any other Roman material, but found none.

"The building is of singular interest, and the local antiquaries should do their part by obtaining careful drawings of the whole building."

Edward II. and his court visited South Elmham in 1326, and made a week's stay at the place before proceeding to Norwich, 22nd January, 1326.

Monasteries were founded in Suffolk in early Saxon days and under Danish rule. At Sudbury a religious house was erected in honour of St. Gregory. It is frequently mentioned in old charters and deeds. We find in early records the more northern "bury" spoken of as St. Edmund's Bury, while the southern "bury" is frequently mentioned in old charters and deeds

as St. Gregory's Bury. The former town retained the name of its patron saint on account of the honour and wealth it acquired under abbey rule; but the latter, which took the place of Bury St. Edmunds in the *Domesday Survey* of Thingoe Hundred, gradually acquired the name South- or Sud-bury.

In the tenth year after King Edmund's death Alfred of Wessex made a treaty with Guthrum the Dane, who, after baptism and the adoption of a new name, made a permanent abode at Hadleigh within the confines of East Anglia, where, according to the *Annals of Asser*, Guthrum-Athelstan was buried in the year A.D. 890. Gaimar, however, states that his body lay at Thetford. During his rule over East Anglia the old Viking gave proof of his former prowess by the recapture of the ships and booty which Alfred's vessels had taken in a fight in the estuary of the Stour. The followers of Guthrum did not expel or overpower the Angles, who absorbed the Danish settlers. After Guthrum's death the Danish rule in Suffolk was short-lived; and the principles of heathenism were revived within the county. The termination "*by*," which marks the Scandinavian settlements in England, appears in the names of only four Suffolk parishes—Risby, Wilby, Barnby and Ashby—and only the first three names occur among the names of the six hundred and seventy-seven Suffolk vills mentioned in *Domesday*. The Suffolk villages were subjected to repeated attacks by the Danes after the year A.D. 1000. In A.D. 1004 Swein's fleet appeared unawares upon the coast of East Anglia. The Danes seized Norwich, and marched on to Thetford, which they plundered after a stubborn resistance. Six years later a force under Thurkill landed at Ipswich, and after a stout fight utterly defeated the Anglian army commanded by Ulfcytel. Ipswich had been plundered by the Danes in the fateful year A.D. 991, when Brithnoth, Earl of East Anglia, fell on the field of Maldon, and the Anglian host

The Minster Ruins, South Elmham (looking West).

was slain to a man, save the cowards, Godric and Godwig, who sought refuge in the fastnesses of the forest.

Some of the most interesting memorials of the visits of the Norse pirates to Suffolk are the tumuli which border the high road from Aldeburgh to Snape on either side of the way. The district where these tumuli abound is one of the picturesque heathlands which in the summer time are richly decked with purple heath, ling, and bracken. It is a grand sight to see the rays of the setting sun fall upon the undulating purple heath which covers the remains of the dead Vikings. Some of the mounds are peculiar in their construction: they do not rise directly from the soil, but have a deep trench round their base. One of the tumuli, which was disturbed in A.D. 1870, turned out to be a second instance of ship-burial in England. When the upper soil of the mound was first removed, the excavators lighted upon cinerary urns full of calcined bones and ashes. The urns were not of the same period; some were of the late Iron Age, and were ornamented with incised lines and dots. Other urns were distinctly early British, and their presence with the Norse urns puzzled those who found them. But the workers were more surprised when they uncovered the remains of a ship; all the bolts which fastened the ribs together remained in the exact positions which they occupied when the vessel was placed beneath the soil. The positions of the bolts marked out clearly the outline of the Norse ship, within which, under the sepulchral chamber, lay the skeleton of the chief who had commanded it in his life-time. Upon his finger bone was a ring of gold, set with an intaglio, once the treasure of a Roman; at his side lay his trusty sword, and near at hand was his short blade of steel. Locks of auburn hair still remained, and also a fragment of the comb with which they had been dressed. By the side of the remains were fragments of what was once a vessel of green glass, over eleven inches in height,

of the same material and design as the vessel which was discovered in a grave opened at Taplow, near Maidenhead. The various bosses and ornaments found in the Snape barrow also bore a strong resemblance to those unearthed at Taplow. The presence and position of the early British pottery is hard to explain. The Viking probably died during one of his piratical expeditions; his followers were therefore compelled to bury him in the land of strangers and foemen. They could not prevent the remains of their departed chief from being disturbed unless the spot of his burial was itself sacred to the dwellers in the district. The sanctity of the grave could not have been better ensured than by selecting the common burial-ground of the neighbourhood, and by placing upon the relics of their chief the remains of an early burial, which may have been found when the ground was disturbed to provide a last resting-place for the sea-king.

The most important Saxon cemetery which has recently been explored in Suffolk was one placed upon sloping ground outside the borough of Ipswich, looking down upon the river Gipping. Valuable and interesting relics of the Saxon period were discovered—weapons of war, which may have been wielded against the invaders of Ipswich in the tenth century, were found lying close by most of the skeletons of the buried men. Ornaments of female attire were abundant, but the arrangement of the bodies was too regular for the interments to have been made under any other circumstances than ordinary arrangements. The remains do not appear to have been those of victims of Norse marauding invasions.

The Angles, though oft defeated by the Norsemen, remained masters of the land. Without the ditches of Bury St. Edmund the Thing held its gathering upon the Thing Hoe, whilst outside the encircling ditch and ramparts of Ipswich was the Thing Stead where the local council was held. The Hundred moots gathered

at spots now easily recognised; they were, for the most part, elevated sites near a stream or a mere. Frequently the hill upon which the judgment of the Hundred Court was administered was close by a much-used ford. From the excavated sides of Gallow's Hill at Wilford the skeletons of malefactors who were hanged in chains in sight of the Hundred moot now fall into the pit below. Six Hundreds known by the names of their fords lie in East Suffolk—Samford, Carlford, Wilford, Cosford, Wangford, and Mutford; only one, Lackford, is in West Suffolk.

Near Lackford is the site of a Romano-British burial-ground, where numerous excavations were carried on late in the last century by Mr. Henry Prigg, of Bury St. Edmunds. But there is a yet older and more famous burial-mound, where in early Christian times the great Council of the Church was annually held. Dr. Jessopp, in his report on the Charters of the Right Hon. the Earl of Leicester preserved at Holkham Hall, Norfolk, thus recently writes of this historic site:

"Perhaps the most curious and interesting discovery which rewarded Mr. Scott's examination of the Holkham Charters was the finding of a bundle of early conveyances of the time of Henry III., which are concerned with lands in the Parish of Mildenhall, in the Isle of Ely (!). How they came into the possession of the Coke family cannot be explained, for, as far as we know, that family have never had any estates in this part of Cambridgeshire. [*Mildenhall lies wholly in Suffolk.*] These early charters go far to settle the long-standing difficulty as to where the site of Clovesho is to be looked for in our maps. It is well known that in September, 673 [the year in which the two dioceses of Elmham and Dunwich were created], a council of the Anglo-Saxon Bishops (of whose number was Bisi, Bishop of the East Angles) was assembled at Hertford under Theodore, by the seventh Canon of which it was resolved that a Synod should in future assemble annually on the 1st August *in loco qui appellatur Clofeshoch.* Historians have never been able to agree as to the locality of 'Clovesho,' as it is usually called, though the records of at least seven Councils held at the place are printed in Haddan and Stubbs, the two last being held there in consecutive years, just at the time when the Danish ravages began to assume a formidable character. These Mildenhall Charters show that in the thirteenth century

there was a place where four ways met, and which still served as a landmark in the district, designated as the *via vetus*, *quadrivium*, *campus de Clovenhoe*, and the *via de Clovenhoe;* and, as Mildenhall is situated at the point where the kingdoms of Mercia, Wessex, and East Anglia meet, it seems hardly an unreasonable conclusion which has been come to by those well qualified to decide the question, that these Charters go very far to settle at last the problem which has been perplexing us so long."

It is scarcely correct to say that Mildenhall (a town in Suffolk twelve miles north-west of Bury St. Edmunds) is *situated exactly at the point where the kingdoms of Mercia, Wessex, and East Anglia meet*, especially if, as is generally considered to be the case, the Isle of Ely was included in East Anglia (compare Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, iv. 19). The site of Clovesho is in Holy Well, Mildenhall. The four-leet-way, sty-path and church lands mentioned in the charters still exist. The meeting of the Synod at Clovesho may have been the cause of the removal of the remains of St. Felix, the apostle to the Angles, from Dunwich to Soham, a town about eight miles east of Mildenhall. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* mentions two meetings of the Church Council at Clovesho:

"A. 742. This year a great synod was held at Cloveshou; and there was Ethelbald, King of the Mercians, and Archbishop Cuthbert, and many other wise men.

"A. 822. This year two ealdormen, Burhelm and Mucca, were slain; and there was a synod at Cloveshoo."

Tradition credits the natives of Suffolk as having been more religious and more devout than the inhabitants of the "shires." They marked the extent of their religious fervour and zeal by the erection of numerous churches—edifices of no mean structure. So strong was their religious devotion that, as an early writer states, "the religious garb was at that time in great veneration, so much so that whenever a cleric or a monk arrived he was joyfully received by all as the servant of God. Moreover, on Sundays they would race to the church or the monasteries, not to refresh the body, but to hear God's word."

The numerous entries in *Domesday* of churches and church land, and of the various conditions under which the churches had been built and endowed with land, support the statement as to the deep religious sentiment which pervaded the minds of the people. The Suffolk *Domesday* records the existence of 371 churches and 98 fractions of churches. If the fractions are added together they equal 33⅝, so that according to the *Survey* there were at least 405 churches, or a possible 469 churches. That there were other churches not mentioned in *Domesday* is clear from the enumeration of churches in the *Inquisitio Eliensis* which are not noted in the former survey. In the year 1256 the number reached 515. One instance is given of four freemen building a chapel upon their own ground; and possibly such was the case at Braiseworth, where fifteen freemen held half the church with fifteen acres of land belonging to the same; at Stonham, to which church nine freemen gave twenty acres for the good of their souls; at Mellis, where, of church land fifteen acres in all, a freeman held ten acres, which he was able to sell without his lord's permission; at Stonham, where Uluric the Thane, Ulmar the Thane, and Alflet each held one-third of the church, and five acres, four acres, and five acres of the church land respectively; at Willingham, where the church land was held by several freemen; at Dagworth, where half a church with thirty acres of land was held by Breme, a freeman, "who was slain at the battle of Hastings." To some churches no land was attached, but an annual rent was received, as at Blythburgh, where one of the three churches received an annual rent of ten thousand herrings, and a further supply of three thousand in alms of the King. The reason for the existence of fractions of churches is clear from an entry in *Domesday* under Helmingham. This entry states that Godric, a freeman, held one-fourth of the church with one and a half acres; Leuestan, a

freeman, also one-fourth, with the same amount of land; and that the remaining half of the church, together with three acres of land, was held by eleven freemen. Evidently, then, the right to hold the church corresponded with the amount of free land given to it. The land held for the churches of Suffolk in 1086 amounted to 15,168¾ acres out of an area of a little more than 950,000 acres. The Church received the profits, but the holder of the benefice paid the rent and services due to the lord.

The priest was his lord's man, as was the ordinary freeman, and, like the priest of Ulveston, could be transferred with the land. Here Alwin the priest held a manor of forty acres, with a villein, a priest, and two bordars. William Malet was seised of a fourth part of this land, and of the priest who was dwelling upon it upon the day of Malet's death. To the Manor of Middleton there were added five freemen and *half a priest*, who together held fifty-five acres and a half. In another entry we are told that this half priest was Leuric, the deacon, a half freeman, over whom Toli, the sheriff, had a moiety of the commendation. In some instances we find the parish priest could be deprived by the lord of his parishioners. Such deprivation occurred at Stow, when Nigel, a steward of Robert, Earl of Moretaine, placed in the church of Combs twelve socmen who were formerly parishioners in Stow Church. It was esteemed part of the duty of the tenants on a lord's demesne to repair the fabric of the church erected on his manor, and the transfer of socmen from one manor or parish to another necessarily entailed upon the remaining tenants of the manor heavier contributions towards church repairs.

NORMAN RULE AND NORMAN CASTLES

By the Editor

BEFORE the coming of the Normans Suffolk was a well-organised county. When a tax was levied the geld was assessed upon the Hundred, and was collected by the Hundred from its various vills according to a rate levied upon the leets which composed the vill. The proof of this assertion may be seen by taking two examples from *Domesday*, the one of an assessment levied upon a Hundred, Thedwastre, in West Suffolk, and the other of an assessment levied upon a Half Hundred, Cosford, in East Suffolk. From these examples (see Appendix B) it will be seen that when the geld levied upon the Hundred was twenty shillings, each of the six leets of the Thedwastre Hundred paid forty pence and each of the eight leets of the Cosford Half Hundred paid fifteen pence. The number of leets in the different Hundreds of Suffolk was not the same; for purposes of taxation it was customary to combine neighbouring vills to form leets. Mr. Horace Round, in his *Feudal England*, has used the Suffolk *Domesday* to point out "that the Hundred, not the Manor, nor even the Vill, is here treated as the fiscal unit for the collection of the Danegeld."

The character of the population when the county changed from Saxon to Norman rule may be gleaned from

the subjoined table. The *Domesday* gives us the following statistics of eight Suffolk Hundreds in 1086:—

HUNDRED.	FREEMEN.	VILLEINS.	BORDARS.	SERFS.	SOCMEN.
Blything - - -	700	375	806	69	9
Plomesgate - - -	459	49	160	11	5
Loes - - - - -	388	99	80	25	13
Mutford - - - -	321	106	130	41	—
Samford - - - -	114	302	287	71	222
Colneis - - - -	326	27	114	2	—
Wilford - - - -	655	63	89	4	11
Carlford - - - -	403	78	223	29	11

Under the government of Norman lords the inhabitants obtained greater freedom. Many became freemen who in the days of Edward the Confessor were bondmen. In the Wilford Hundred the parishes of Hoo, Wickham, Laneburgh, Harpole, Debach and Ramsholt possessed only freemen. In Bromeswell there was but one bordar, the remaining parishioners were free; on the other hand there were no freemen in Hollesley or Campsey. All freemen did not possess land, neither did all bordars or cottars. A villein could hold land, for we find two brothers, Uluric and Osketel, both villeins, each possessing twenty acres. There was a tendency for villeins, and in some instances for freemen, to become bordars or cottars, who performed inferior services. Normans had settled in the district before the Conquest, which introduced into Dunwich and some of the neighbouring towns *Franci*, or Frenchmen. In Bury St. Edmunds there were some French knights. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., gives the number of *Franci* mentioned in the *Domesday* as fifty; of these twenty-four

resided at Dunwich. The towns, especially those along the coast, became more populous under Norman rule; Ipswich had fifteen churches; Dunwich increased its number from one to three. At Bury St. Edmunds there were three hundred and forty-three houses standing upon land which in the days of King Edward the Confessor was under tillage. Moneyers dwelt at Ipswich, Sudbury, and Blythburgh; in later times the number of mints in Suffolk increased. Coins struck by Robert de Hadley at the mint of Bury St. Edmunds in A.D. 1280 were the last English coins to have the moneyer's name forming the legend.

Bury St. Edmunds had greatly increased under the government of Abbot Baldwin, the King's physician; in place of twelve Benedictine monks the number of the devotees of St. Edmund had risen to thirty priests, deacons, and clerks, and twenty-eight nuns and poor persons who daily uttered prayers for the King and for all Christian people; seventy-five attendants, including bakers, ale-brewers, tailors, washerwomen, shoemakers, cloth-workers, cooks, porters, and controllers of the household, waited upon them. It is probable that no great contingent was drawn from the town to support the interests of Harold at the Battle of Hastings; whereas, the three hundred and twenty-eight desolate homesteads in Ipswich seem to point to the fate of men who formed part of the body-guard of their lord, Earl Gurth, or who had been called upon as the men of Queen Edith to fight for Harold.

From the time of the Normans East and West Suffolk became separate districts; the West was under the sway of one wealthy religious foundation, while the East was in the hands of various lords and many religious houses. There was no Abbey other than that of Bury St. Edmunds in West Suffolk, where the other monastic establishments were three priories and a few colleges and friaries. In East Suffolk there were ten Benedictine houses and two

Cistercian houses, besides several canonries, friaries, colleges, and hospitals. There were no nunneries in West Suffolk, but in East Suffolk there were six. The support and patronage of monarchs added wealth and renown to Bury Abbey. Early Saxon kings had endowed it with extensive lands. Constance, daughter of William I. and wife of Alan, Duke of Brittany, after a married life of seven years, found a last resting-place within its walls. It was at Bury St. Edmunds that Eustace, son of Stephen, after the treaty of Wallingford, gathered a sort of free company of malcontents, adherents of his father's party, and ravaged the surrounding district. The monks had received him honourably, but he, desiring money, on their refusal plundered the monastery and ordered all the corn to be carried off to his own castle near the town. After this sacrilege he was suddenly choked whilst at dinner, 10th August, 1153, adding one more name to the list of noble victims who, according to tradition, suffered for their rashness and temerity in robbing the fields and treasury of St. Edmund.

The people of Suffolk supported the cause of Matilda: the castle of Ipswich, held by Earl Bigot, was besieged by Stephen. When the barons perceived Stephen was a mild king, and "a soft and good man, they all became forsworn, and broke their allegiance, for every rich man built his castles, and defended them against him, and they filled the land full of castles. They greatly oppressed the wretched people by making them work at these castles, and when the castles were finished they filled them with devils and evil men." The existence of many fields throughout Suffolk known under the names of Castle Fields has already been noted. These, having once been the sites of burghs, were doubtless fortified castles in the time of Stephen. In addition to these sites there are many others which retain mount, fosse, vallum, and bailey, undoubted proofs

of the former existence of strongly fortified castles and halls; such sites are those of Offton, Lindsey, Lidgate, Denham, Haughley, Clare, Eye, Thetford and Bungay. There are yet other places which, though the traces of early fortification are not so prominent, we know from records, as well as from faint indications of entrenchments, were sites selected for the construction of Norman castles; Milden is such a place. The following extract from Sir Ernest Clarke's edition of the *Jocelin of Brakelond* proves that the adulterine castles erected in Stephen's reign existed on many spots, the situations of which it is now difficult to ascertain.

"At the foot of folio 163 of the *Liber Albus*, from which Jocelin's Chronicle is taken, is a memorandum by William of Diss, which has been printed both by Rokewode and Arnold. . . . Robert de Cockfield acknowledged that he had no hereditary right in the vills of Groton and Semer. For in the days of King Stephen, when the peace was disturbed, the monks of St. Edmund granted the two aforesaid two vills to Adam of Cockfield, his father, to be held all the days of his life; . . . because Adam could defend the aforesaid towns against the holders of the neighbouring castles, W. of Milden, and W. of Ambli, in that he had a castle of his own near to the aforesaid manors, namely, the castle of Lelesey; *i.e.*, Lindsey.

Robert de Cockfield had also a charter for a great messuage, under a payment of twelve pence, where the hall of Adam the first, of Cockfield, was of old situated, with a wooden tower seven times twenty feet in height!"

This old hall with its lofty wooden tower stood within the parish of Cockfield, and was doubtless one of the castles which sprung up in the days of Stephen. The castle of William de Ambli was Offton Castle; the entrenched mount, covered with wild shrubs, is still visible. Lindsey Castle mound and moat is more conspicuous, its outer bailey is more marked; the summit is often cultivated; the carting of wheat down the steep slope is a dangerous undertaking. Milden Castle stood upon a piece of waste ground which lies to the left of the road leading up to Milden Hall. The remains of the entrenchments are very slight; the road

has cut through the outer defences. Milden Castle required no lofty mount such as was occupied at Lindsey; the position of the site is a most commanding one, from it the view of the surrounding country is most extensive. From Milden church, which is itself surrounded by a moat, may be seen as many as fourteen other churches. Lindsey Castle lies midway between the villages of Semer and Groton, which were placed under the protection of Adam de Cockfield. Milden is a parish adjacent to Lindsey; Elmsett, Somersham, and Offton, in which were manors held by William de Ambli, are neighbouring parishes lying to the north of Semer. The whole of this district of South-West Suffolk was studded with castles and fortresses.

Walter de Gray Birch, quoting from a paper on Eynsford Castle, by J. A. S. Bailey, in *The Antiquary* for April, 1887, considers there were 458 (?461) castles in England destroyed in accordance with the treaty between Stephen and Henry at Wallingford, 1153. "At the time of Henry II. the number of castles had increased to the enormous number of 1,115." The paper referred to gives only ten as the number of castles destroyed in Suffolk. I am inclined to the opinion, from the numerous castles which existed in all parts of the county, that the number of adulterine castles in Suffolk destroyed at that period far exceeded the number, ten.

The year 1156 was spent by Henry II. on the Continent, in company with his chancellor, Thomas à Becket. Upon his return to England in 1157, Hugh Bigod, "the veteran intriguer," placed his castles of Bungay, Walton, and Framlingham in the King's hand. This baron had been created Earl of Norfolk and Suffolk by Stephen; the pillage and plundering which followed in the footsteps of his rebel armies impressed the natives with fear and trembling when they heard of his approach. Mothers hushed the cries of their infants with his name; and the headless horseman of the night was for many centuries

Castle and Castle Hills, Bungay.

the roving spirit of this *vir magnificus* of Ralph de Coggeshall. In some places dark lanes are still known under the name of Erle Bygotte's Lane.

Hugh Bigod, "who had risen on the ruins of early foundations" of former rebels, gave his support to Henry, son of Henry II., in his rebellion against his father. When the King was absent in France, his justiciar, Richard de Lucy, hurried on the completion of Orford Castle, which was commenced in 1164. He had scarcely time to throw a garrison of seventy-five soldiers into it when the Earl of Leicester landed with his Flemings at Orewell, and laid siege to Walton Castle, then in the King's hands. The attack having failed, Leicester proceeded with his forces to Haughley, and, with the help of Earl Bigod, attacked its castle.

Haughley Castle stood upon the summit of a lofty mound, surrounded by a moat varying in width from eight to four yards. The entrance to the mound could only be gained by a passage through a quadrangular moated enclosure, which was itself protected by another similar enclosure on the east side. This castle was probably erected by Hugh de Montfort, constable of the army of William I. Montfort is said to have supplied the Norman Duke with fifty ships and sixty knights, when the latter set sail for England. He held fifty-one manors in Suffolk. When he fell in a duel with Walcheline de Ferrers, his son Hugh acquired the Honour of Hagenet (Haughley), known as the *Honor Constabulariæ*, which he lost when he supported the cause of Robert against Henry I.

Gilbert de Gant, a grandson of Alice de Montfort, daughter of Hugh, the first constable of that name, held Haughley Castle in the days of Stephen. He warmly supported the cause of that monarch, with whom he was captured at the battle of Lincoln, 1141. Henry II., at his accession, took Haughley Castle into his hands; and, upon the marriage of his daughter, Matilda, to Henry the

Lion, Duke of Saxony, the King demanded an aid of twenty shillings from the town of Haughley.

When the forces of the Earl of Leicester and Earl Bigod marched against Haughley Castle it was garrisoned by thirty men under the command of Ralph de Broc. This small garrison was unable to resist the attack made by an army of 1,400 mercenaries; the soldiers and their leaders were taken and held to ransom. The castle, which was largely constructed of timber, was burnt to the ground, and was never rebuilt.

Ralph de Broc was one of Becket's bitterest enemies. At the Council of Northampton it was "this ruffian adventurer" who rushed upon the Archbishop with cries of "Traitor! Traitor!" He held the archiepiscopal estates for four years, and although excommunicated by Becket, he would not give them up. At Saltwood Castle he presided over the council which planned the murder of Becket; his presence at Haughley was probably due to the fact that he was then holding the Honour of Eye.

On the news that Leicester had landed with his Flemings, Richard de Lucy hastened from Berwick, and, having been joined by the Earls of Cornwall and Arundel, defeated and took prisoner the Earl of Leicester and his Countess at Fornham St. Geneviève, near Bury St. Edmunds, where more than 10,000 of the Flemish mercenaries were slain in 1173. This was the last great battle chronicled to have taken place in Suffolk; of riots and disturbances there were several, for the "inhabitants of Suffolk were of a turbulent and independent disposition." Jocelin of Brakelond tells us that "*Earl Roger Bigot* held himself seised of the office of bearing the standard of St. Edmund; indeed, he actually did bear it when the Earl of Leicester was taken and the Flemings destroyed!" Surely the banner was not borne against the King's forces, for Ralph of Coggeshall states that Leicester was overthrown by the

just judgment of God, and by the merits of the most holy King and martyr, St. Edmund. The latter monk continues his narrative of events with the statement that William, King of Scotland, was captured at Alnwick by Ralph de Glanville, founder of Butley Priory, and Robert de Stutevill of Withersfield. Has Abbot Samson's chronicler been caught nodding? "Earl Hugh Bigod closed his uneasy career in 1177;" and it was Earl Hugh, and not Earl Roger, who, according to Ralph de Coggeshall, was present at Fornham, and supported the rebel Earl of Leicester.

For his complicity in these civil disturbances the Suffolk castles of Hugh Bigod at Bungay and Framlingham were destroyed. In 1294 Edward I. granted to Roger Bigod, fifth Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England, a license to crenellate his house at Bungay; the ruins of his castle still remain. The Earl dying in 1306 without issue, the castles passed out of the hands of the Bigods.

Having joined in the disturbances of 1163, Hugh, Abbot of Bury St. Edmund, was compelled to pay a fine of two hundred marks to redeem the King's debt to the Jews, Aaron and Isaac, of that town. In the year following the death of this Abbot, 1181, a boy, Robert by name, is said to have suffered martyrdom at Bury; his body was buried in the Abbey Church.

In 1183 Wimar the sheriff returned into the Exchequer a sum of 53s. 4d. which he had received from the Jews at Beccles for hanging a man there. The same sheriff mentions Manserius, a Jew of Ipswich, who owed four ounces of gold for permission to lend out on usury 20 marks to William de Verdun, and to his freeman, Solomon. Other Jews of Ipswich are named as money-lenders—Hagin, Vines, and one Daniel, who, having the facial characteristic of a Jew more than ever prominent, was called Daniel Naso, or Daniel with the nose. It was during the temporary rule of the Archbishop of Trontheim

at Bury St. Edmunds that the Jews of the town are said to have murdered the boy Robert: but the vengeance of the populace was not wreaked upon the despised race till ten years later, when fifty-seven Jews were massacred, and the rest were banished from Bury St. Edmunds. In most towns where the Jews settled, their quarters were known as the Jewry; in Bury St. Edmunds they lived in a street called "Jews' Street." After their banishment the name of the street was changed to "Heathenmannistrete," so hateful was the very name Jew. There was also a street at Thetford of the same name. Jews' Street is now Hatter Street, a street which is some distance from their reputed synagogue, Moyses' Hall, which was erected in the Hog Market, a curious position for the Jews to select wherein to establish their place of worship. I think it more probable that Moyses' Hall was so called from its owner, Robert Moose, butcher, one of the ringleaders of the Bury riots in 1327.

What a blessing Jocelin the almoner would have conferred upon posterity if he had added to his narrative the story of Abbot Samson's visit to King Richard in his German prison. We hear of the abbot's vaunted wish to release his captive monarch, and there the matter ends. We are told of the offerings made by the abbot and convent towards the King's ransom; offerings fully paid back by the royal gift of the manor of Mildenhall and the redemption of a gold cup; but we are not made cognisant of any real privation endured by the inmates of the house of St. Edmund at a time when hardships and distress were the lot of laymen both rich and poor. The account of Queen Eleanor's prayer for the safe keeping of her present as written by Jocelin must be read side by side with an entry in the Wardrobe Keeper's Accounts for 12-14 Edward III. (*page* 68), wherein we are informed that Walter de Pinchebeck, monk of Bury St. Edmunds, presented to the King a gold chalice, exceeding 8 lbs. in weight, valued

at 13d. a pennyweight, in all at £115 19s. 4d. Possibly its antiquity had increased the value of Queen Eleanor's gift two-fold.

We should like to have heard more of "*Adam the Infirmarer*," who was able successfully to tickle Abbot Samson's palm with one hundred shillings. Was he the Magister Adam of Bury St. Edmunds, clerk, who had a noble residence, standing before the door of St. Margaret's Church, in which Ralph the artist lived? A little light thrown upon the character of "*Adam the Infirmarer*" might have shewn us the reason why, whilst Abbot Samson was working zealously for the release of Richard I., a Bury monk was acting as a strong supporter of "Earl John." When Samson was "in arms before his King in Germany with gifts," Adam of St. Edmunds was the bearer of secret letters from "Earl John," ordering that all the castles which were held in England should be made ready for defence against the King. This monk, having reached London without hindrance, foolishly presented himself at the house of the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Hubert Walter. The hospitality bestowed upon Adam of St. Edmunds turned "the babbler's head"; his secret was out, and he subsequently found himself placed under arrest. Richard I., history informs us, immediately upon his arrival in England, hastened on pilgrimages to the shrines of Thomas à Becket and St. Edmund. Jocelin, the Hospitaller and Almoner, is silent as to this visit. He mentions, however, the various visits of King John to Bury, and bemoans the royal gift of 13d., unmindful of the fact that the number of pence was symbolical. It is doubtful if Jocelin would have attributed the action of Edward I. to meanness of character when that monarch offered a similar gift upon a like occasion. The monks had entertained John right royally with an eye to future recompense, and had in return reaped disappointment, which is the general lot of those who entertain others, not as friends, but as geese to be plucked.

Whilst Bury St. Edmunds was rising to a position of importance owing to the ambition of its Benedictine lord, the coast towns of Suffolk became, through the commercial activity of their inhabitants, populous and wealthy boroughs. In the reign of Richard I. the towns of Dunwich, Ipswich and Orford were endeavouring, as it seems, to get themselves put out of the sheriff's charge in order to answer for the ferm to the King by their own hands. For this purpose in 6 Richard I. Orford was fined in sixty marks. We find from the Pipe Roll for 3 John that this sum had not been paid, nor had a like sum due for similar reasons from the burgesses of Ipswich been placed in the Exchequer. The granting of charters to several towns by King John has been considered by many historians a mark of his "spacious" nature, but the fact has been overlooked that in many instances the sums demanded from the burgesses of several newly-created boroughs that they might hold their liberties never reached the King's hands. As late as the year 1209 John de Cornwall made a return that the men of Ipswich still owed the sixty marks due since the year of King John's coronation, when the moot-horn had first been handed to the bailiffs of the town.

The Pipe Roll, 1 Richard I., drawn up a month after John's marriage, shows him as holding two manors in Suffolk, Orford and Staverton. Tradition still retains the fact of King John's early ownership of Staverton Manor, for by the country-folk Staverton Park is in these days known as King John's Wood. Within the park stand sturdy oaks whose knotted, gnarled stems mark the growth of centuries. So weird and fantastic is the growth of many of these trees, that they are considered to have once formed part of a primeval forest. The trees have been subject to frequent "stowings" to provide "stallons," or "wattle-sticks," for the erection of the wattle walls plastered with mud which formed the early huts and hovels of the neighbourhood. The frequent lopping

of these "stallyngs," or "polled oaks," has caused many to decay, and within the heads of the stunted trees has accumulated sufficient soil to secure the growth of other trees. Consequently within the park may be seen "hulver," birch and elm of many years' growth, rising out of the heads of oaks still verdant in spring-time.

Staverton was part of the possessions of Hugh Bigod which fell into the hands of Henry II. Roger, Earl Bigod, son of Hugh, sided with the barons against John, and extorted from Dunwich a great sum of money to avoid destruction. Dunwich for a second time remained loyal when besieged by rebels who were aided by the French. John was not remiss in bringing aid to his friends; his marches were rapid, sudden, and unexpected, and often gained him success. In 1200, at Christmas, John was at Lincoln, quarrelling with the canons about the election of Abbot Hugh's successor. He afterwards made a progress through the north, almost up to the Scottish border, and back through Cumberland to York, which was reached at Mid-Lent (1st March, 1201). At Easter (25th March) the King and Queen wore their crowns at Canterbury. Between these dates they were present at mass in the abbey church of Bury St. Edmunds. Again in the year 1203, after a year of conflict with Philip of France, John landed at Portsmouth, December 6th, and was at Bury St. Edmunds on December 21st. At this visit he granted to St. Edmund ten marks annually, payable from the Exchequer, for the repair of the shrine, and at the same time obtained the loan of the jewels offered by his mother, Queen Eleanor, to the saint. At the end of November, 1215, Louis of France despatched a hundred and forty of his knights, who with seven thousand men landed at the mouth of the Orwell and marched on to London. John, previously, had regained the mastery over the whole of the eastern side of England, except a few castles in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex.

The most dramatic incident connected with John's

visits to Bury St. Edmunds must have occurred when the King informed the monks of his power to appoint a successor to Abbot Samson, who had then been dead for two years. At the same visit he must have met the barons in or about November, 1214. After his departure the barons, on November 21st, "went all together to the church of St. Edmund the King and Martyr, and beginning with the eldest, they swore on the high altar that if the King sought to evade their demand for the laws and liberties which the charter of King Henry I. contained, they would make war upon him." Shakespeare adds a further scene to history when, in the final act of *King John*, he powerfully describes the last engagement in which John fought as happening near the walls of Bury St. Edmunds. The poet lends his support to the opinion of the few who believe that "Louis the Dauphin" visited the abbey and swore "upon the altar at St. Edmund's Bury dear amity and everlasting love" to the rebel barons. It has been convincingly proved by Sir Ernest Clarke that Louis did not plunder the abbey of the remains of its patron saint.

Early in January, 1216, the royal forces under Earl William of Salisbury, assisted by Falkes de Breauté, William Brewer, and Walter Buck, marched to St. Edmunds, and drove the insurgents who had taken refuge there to seek another shelter in the Isle of Ely; and Savaric de Mauléon retired towards St. Edmunds to rejoin the other royalist leaders when he heard that the barons were hastening to relieve Colchester. In February John was at Fotheringay. On March 12th he was at the gates of Roger Bigod's castle at Framlingham —it surrendered at once; next he moved to Ipswich; on the 14th he laid siege to Colchester.

"All the while he was harrying the open country, burning villages and plundering castles, John was making careful provision for the furtherance of trade, the security of travelling merchants, and the preservation

of foreign commerce from disturbance or interruption." On April 14th, 1216, John ordered twenty-one coast towns to send all their ships to the mouth of the Thames. Dunwich sent ships to this muster.

Reyce is the authority for the statement that "King John about the sixth year of his reign commanded the castle of John Lacy at Dynnington to be taken and utterly rased downe." This castle was not at Dennington in Suffolk, but at Donington in Berkshire.

Walton, in Suffolk, was an important place in Saxon days; and if we are to accept the able statements of Mr. G. E. Fox, even in Roman days the district must have been one of life and activity owing to the presence of a Roman camp of no mean size. Mr. Fox considers the position of this fortress one of great importance, as great if not greater even than that of Burgh Castle itself. It was erected to protect the river-ways of the Deben and Orwell. All that can now be seen of the remains of the fortress are two or three weed-covered masses of masonry at some 250 feet from the shore, looking like rocks when the tide is at its lowest. An antiquary in 1772 mentions the existence of the ruins of a Roman wall situated on the ridge of a cliff next the sea and gives its dimensions as 100 yards long, 5 ft. above ground, and 12 ft. broad at each end. It was composed of pebbles and Roman bricks in three courses. Kirby, who wrote at the same period, thought the ruins were those of a quadrangular castle advantageously situated. In a later edition of his *Suffolk Traveller* he definitely states that there can be no doubt but *Walton Castle* was a Roman fortification, as appeared from the great variety of Roman urns, rings, coins, etc., which had been found there. In a survey of Felixstowe Manor in 1613 we find mention of a close of arable land called Great Longdole, in which close the ruins of Walton Castle were then standing.

It has already been noticed that the sites of the Roman camps at Burgh Castle and Burgh near Woodbridge are

even now spoken of as Castle Fields, although we have no record that the Saxon "burgs" within the lines of fortification were used as the mound upon which to erect a Norman castle. With respect to the existence of Walton Castle we have, however, reliable information. In the year 1100 the land of Walton parish was in the hands of Roger Bigod. A part of his estate was called Burch; the Earl bestowed its church, dedicated to St. Felix, upon the church of St. Andrew, Rochester. The Benedictine monks of Rochester attached to the church of St. Felix monastic buildings, which were not very extensive. They were occupied by only three inmates and a prior or "custodian of the cell." In Stephen's reign Hugh Bigod gave 48 acres in exchange for the land of the church on which he had built (*fermavit*) his castle, giving to the monks at the same time the "breching" or outer mound, and the *chapel of the castle.* In 1154 Pope Adrian confirmed the grant of the chapel of Walton Castle to the Priory of Rochester. In 1174 the castle fell into the King's hands; tradition asserts that it was destroyed and that the material of which its walls were made was used in the construction of the neighbouring roads. The Pipe Rolls for this year mention the destruction of Bigod's castles at Framlingham and Bungay, but the sum of £7 9s. 10d. expended on Walton Castle by Simon-fitz-Simon and Roger Sturmy on behalf of the King was not for its destruction, but for its repair. Walton Castle was subsequently held for the King against the attacks of the Earl of Leicester and his mercenaries.

I am inclined to believe that Walton Castle was the residence of both Edward I. and Edward III. when they were collecting their forces at Walton for expeditions to Flanders, in 1297 and 1338, and that the ruins noticed by Knight, Kirby, Grose and other antiquaries were the ruins of the outer walls of the castle. Edward I. stayed at Ipswich when his daughter Isabella was married there

to the Count of Holland, 18th January, 1297. The entry in the Wardrobe Keeper's Accounts, "To Maud Makejoy, for dancing before Edward, Prince of Wales, in the *King's Hall* at Ipswich," seems to imply that the residence of the King upon this occasion was in Ipswich and not at Walton. When Reyce, in his "*Breviary*" (*Lord Francis Hervey's publication*, p. 49), states that "Earl Bigot in King Stephen's time had also a castle at Ipswich," I think he is referring to Walton Castle. Ipswich was a royal borough. Earl Bigod may have held the Manor of Wikes Ufford, a hamlet of St. Clement's parish, Ipswich, but I cannot find that he held a manor in the town of which the field known as Castle Field, Ipswich, formed part of the demesne lands.

Ipswich, in the days of the Plantagenet Edwards, was a leading commercial town on the East Coast. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries ships from the countries of Western Europe disembarked their cargoes on its quays—wines from Spain, timber from Norway, cloth from Flanders, salt from France, and "mercerie" from Italy left its crowded wharves to be offered for sale or exchange in the narrow busy streets of the borough. Stores of fish from Iceland, bales of wool, loads of untanned hides, as well as the varied agricultural produce of the district—corn, hay, butter, cheese, poultry and meat—were exposed twice in the week on the market stalls. The chief sites occupied by the stalls of the numerous markets lay within a narrow limit of space in close proximity to the principal churches of the town, the churches of St. Mary-le-Tower, St. Mildred, and St. Lawrence. The market-stands consisted mainly of portable stalls, eight feet long by four feet broad, erected alongside of the houses on either side of the streets. The Tavern Street of to-day was the site of the Flesh Market or "Cowerye." There houses with thatched roofs stood so closely together that conflagrations were frequent and extensive. The narrow lane leading from the Flesh

Market to the Tower Church was the Hen Market or the Poultry. Cooks' Row led past the church of St. Lawrence into the Butter Market, adjoining which were the Cheese and Fish Markets. Near to the Cornhill were markets for the sale of bread and timber, and around the Guildhall, situated in the parish of St. Mildred, were numerous stalls on which "mercerie" was laid for sale. The leading industry in the town was the manufacture of leather carried on by the skinners, barkers, and tanners who dwelt near the brook in the parish of St. Mary Elms. Beer-brewing was the occupation of a few families residing in the parish of St. Clement. Cloth was not manufactured within the town to any great extent; English cloth was rarely offered for sale.

Cloth was chiefly warehoused and sold in the taverns. Large blocks of taverns stood in the vicinity of the Flesh Market on both sides of the road, in what is now Tavern Street, and as the district was occupied by wealthy wine-merchants and vintners it was called the Vintry. These merchants carried on a flourishing trade, not only in Ipswich, but also in London and Bordeaux. The wealth they accumulated raised them to become men of high rank; from some of them the most ancient nobility of the county were descended. Several accompanied Edward III. in his wars with France, and were knighted for their services.

The constant demand for ships to carry out expeditions to France and Flanders was a great tax and burden upon the town. The town was further impoverished by the loss of ships at sea, and by "the death of the burgesses and the departure of merchants and merchandise from the town." In the latter part of the reign of Edward III. "many mischiefs and destructions fell upon the town through the Sea" (*par la Meere*). The loss of townsfolk and burgesses was greatest when the prosperity of the town was highest. By careful search amongst the ecclesiastical records at

Norwich, Dr. Jessopp has been able to show the wide extent of the ravages of the Black Death throughout East Anglia. The Ipswich Corporation records bear testimony to the truth of this statement, for while in ordinary years the average number of wills and testaments enrolled in the borough courts was three or four, in the year 1349 no less than forty-six wills were enrolled. These were wills of the leading merchants of the town, and of men who held property within the borough.

ORFORD CASTLE

ITS

HISTORY AND STRUCTURE

By B. J. Balding and P. Turner

THE ancient keep of Orford Castle, situated on the western side of the town, overlooking the river Ore (by some wrongly called the Alde) and extensive marshlands, strikes the beholder with admiration on account of its simple yet massive and majestic appearance. The prominent characteristics of the keep have caused many antiquaries to express opinions as to its antiquity which later investigations have proved to be entirely incorrect; its age has been considered many centuries in advance of its true antiquity. It was not standing in Roman days, as stated by King in his *Munimenta Antiqua*, where he asserts that "among such works of the Britons as appear to be imitations of the works of the Romans, may be ranked the leaning tower of Caerleon and Orford Castle in Suffolk." There is no single feature about its construction which lends any support to this view.

Many wrong assertions as to the antiquity and foundation of Orford Castle have arisen from the repetition of previously made statements which were originally incorrect, either through a typographical error or from the wrong reading of some earlier manuscript containing an account of *Oxford* Castle, built in 1072 by Robert de Olly. Following the error made by a

writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the Suffolk Directories in the meagre account of the history of Orford Castle still continue to repeat the erroneous statement of the magazine writer that "*Orford* Castle was built in 1072 by Robert de Olly." This is unfortunate, as many persons have no greater knowledge of the history of the memorial buildings in their native county than what they have gleaned from the pages of unreliable "Directory" history, history which they themselves consider to be infallible. Fortunately, in the case of Orford Castle infallible records do exist to tell the full history of its foundation and erection, giving, subsequently, many details of the vicissitudes it experienced. These reliable public records are the Pipe Rolls, the most interesting series of records extant. They comprise yearly accounts of all the taxes collected in the different counties of England. To the antiquary the interest lies in the entries for disbursements made by the various sheriffs; among these disbursements were payments made by them for building and repairing the King's houses and castles. Several of the early Pipe Rolls have been published by the Pipe Roll Society. In volume vii. of its publications, giving the Pipe Roll of 10 Hen. II., and in the following four volumes we have a full account of the incidents and expenses connected with the building of Orford Castle in 1165, and from other original Pipe Rolls the complete story of its erection has been obtained.

No fortified building existed at Orford before this, the only royal castle built in Suffolk, was erected at the command of the first of the Plantagenet kings. In its earliest days Orford was a small, insignificant hamlet of Sudbourne. It is very probable that it consisted of a few dwellings standing around or within the vicinity of an old "burg," which gave the name Burgesgata to the landing-place at the river's mouth, and that the collection of huts formed the hamlet, Sudburnham, of the eleventh

century. These lands having been given to Robert Malet, he bestowed them upon the priory which he founded at Eye before the year 1100, and it is in the charter conferring this gift that the hamlet is first called Orford, as it stood near the spot where the river was forded to Havergate Island marshes. The district was within the Liberty of St. Etheldreda, and belonged to the Honour of Eye. Upon the disgrace of Malet, the Honour of Eye fell into the King's hands, 1102, and in 1156 Henry II. gave the custody of it to his Chancellor, Thomas à Becket, who retained it with the Honour of Berkhampstead until 1162.

When a great barony fell by forfeiture into the King's hands it retained a distinct corporate existence. Under the title of an Honour it continued to be a royal possession, and was farmed like a shire, or was granted out again as an hereditary fief. Every Honour had its *caput*, or castle. The castle of Eye was erected by Malet upon the site of an old Saxon burg. The Honour of Eye was bestowed upon Becket as "the Castlery of Eye with seven score soldiers"; and when Becket was commanded by Henry II. to give an account of a revenue of £300 derived from the two Honours which he held, he claimed to have used that sum for the repair of the two castles and of the Tower of London. Before the Honour of Eye fell into the hands of the Crown there was no Suffolk castle held by the King; all were owned by barons; three of them, and these the strongest and most important Suffolk castles, Bungay, Framlingham, and Walton, were then in the hands of Earl Bigot. The doggerel verses which mark the spirit with which "the lord of Bungay town" defied the "King of Cockney" are of recent production. In 1157 Bungay Castle was surrendered into the King's hands and destroyed; but subsequent events proved that the destruction was not complete, and that the earl again strongly fortified it when it was restored to him in 1163.

The castle of the Earl of Gloucester at Southwold was not erected before 1260; before that year it was free for any rebel baron to land his Flemish mercenaries upon the neighbouring coast without any hindrance. But no part of the Suffolk coast was more easy of access than that lying between the mouth of the Deben and Ore Haven. All this shore, except that belonging to the parish of Orford, formed part of the manorial possessions of Earl Bigot, as also did the extent of coast lying between the Orwell mouth and the Deben, or Gosford Haven.

It was to protect the Suffolk coast and to defend the country against the incursions of the Flemings that Henry II. and his justiciar, Richard de Lucy, determined it to be expedient to erect a royal castle to safeguard Orford Haven. The existence of a castle on that site would enable the King to hold in readiness a garrison of one hundred loyal soldiers to oppose the landing of an enemy in the district, and, should they land elsewhere, to harass them in the rear and hinder their re-embarkation in case of a retreat to their ships.

Orford in 1164 was a thriving village, having a busy market-place. The erection of a castle increased its prosperity, and converted the once small hamlet of Sudbourne into one of the most flourishing of Suffolk boroughs.

Actual operations were commenced in 1163, when Ogger the Steward (*Oggerus dapifer*) was Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk. Stone was lacking in the district, and was obtained with difficulty from the Norman quarries; but there was an abundance of material close at hand which was available for use. Masses of septaria were to be found in large quantities on the shore and in the neighbouring marshes and river-bed. It was largely used in the manufacture of Roman cement, and proved a most valuable substitute for stone. The wisdom of the selection of this material is seen in the excellent state of the castle walls, which have stood the attacks of

besiegers and weathered the storms of the East Coast for more than seven centuries.

To convey this material from its source to the mound thrown up upon the most elevated and conspicuous site near the town, a paved way or street (*calceta*) was constructed to the quay or landing-stage. A windmill was erected so that corn might be readily ground for the workmen. The expense of the first year's work amounted to forty shillings; the labour of carting was performed by the tenants of the royal manor.

There were no returns made by the sheriff in 1164 in connection with the work; the actual operations did not commence before the year 1165, the year in which, according to Stow, "a great earthquake was felt in Norfolk and Suffolk, so that it overthrew them that stood on their feet and made the bells to ring in their steeples." The expenses incurred by the erection of the castle were accounted for by the sheriff, Ogger, but the supervision of the work was placed in the hands of Bartholomew de Glanville, Robert de Valoines, and Wimar, the chaplain.

In a fifteenth-century cartulary of Butley Priory, founded by Ranulf de Glanville in 1170, it is asserted that he was of most noble descent, inasmuch as he had in his veins the blood of Normans who came over with William the Conqueror. He was the son of Walter de Glanville, "a devout and unwarlike man," and brother of Bartholomew de Glanville of Orford Castle, founder of Broxholme Priory, Norfolk. Robert, son of Peter de Valoines, was their kinsman. Wimar, the chaplain, was Rector of Orford, and subsequently Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, and one of the Justices Itinerant. It was probably under his auspices that the east wall of the north aisle of Orford church and the ruins of the old chancel, with their features characteristic of Norman architecture, were erected.

The whole of the money received from the ships

of Orford, together with the ferm of the town and of the royal manor of Whitton, as well as other large sums of money, amounting in all to the sum of £313 15s. 3d., was expended on the work in 1165. This shows that rapid progress must have been made in that year.

In the next year, 1166, the advance was still greater; the bailiffs of several Suffolk royal manors—Ubbeston, Hintlesham, Bergholt, and others—sent in their quota towards the expenses. The amount forwarded by the stewards was half the returns of the manor. The progress was now sufficient to permit the addition of fortifications, and Bartholomew de Glanville was appointed by Richard de Lucy first warden or custodian of the castle. Bartholomew de Glanville was Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk from 1171 to 1177. It was during his tenure of office that, according to the Monk of Coggeshall, a wild man of the sea was captured by fishermen in their nets and detained for some time a prisoner in the castle. If this was the case, the wild man must have been captured at some time between the years 1166 and 1180, but an examination of the Pipe Rolls for that period has not led to the discovery of any clue as to the existence of so strange an animal as the pet of the garrison. There is mention, however, of a huge fish (*crassus piscis*) having been caught at Orford, and sent to the King at a cost of nine shillings for carriage. This is probably the source of the monk's tale.

A *liberatio*, or free gift, was presented to Stephen de Ely for work done at the castle. While Bartholomew de Glanville was superintending the completion of Orford Castle, his brother Ranulphus was erecting the fortifications of Scarborough Castle, building wooden towers, or *bretesches*, to guard the entrances. The same kind of towers were conveyed to Ireland at this time by the barons who assisted in the conquest of that country. The keep of Conisborough Castle,

now standing, bears a strong resemblance to that of Orford Castle, and it is probable that Ranulphus de Glanville, as Sheriff of Yorkshire, was responsible for its erection. From the evidence of the Pipe Roll of 14 Hen. II. we know that timber and boards were despatched from Orford for his use at Scarborough. In the absence of the King in France, the justiciar hastened on the defences of the East Coast to secure it against the expected invasion from Flanders. For the year 1167 a sum of £200 was accounted for as expended on the works *per breve* of Richard de Lucy. The whole of the customs of the Orford ships, £49 16s. 6d., for the same year was so employed.

In the following year, 1168, Robert de Valoines, the overseer, was assisted in his work by the help of two Normans of Ipswich. These Normans were probably engineers whose services had been engaged to drain and wall-in the adjacent marshes. The record in the *Great Domesday Book* of Ipswich, giving an account of the first election of the bailiffs and coroners of the borough, names as bailiff John the son of Norman, and as coroner Norman Alynoth. These two Normans of Ipswich are possibly the same as those who are mentioned in the Pipe Roll for 5 Hen. II. as being employed in the King's service, and Alynoth may have been the engineer who was engaged in the destruction of Framlingham Castle in 1174. The marshes which were enclosed are still known as the "King's Marshes." They were hired of their owner, Oslach, at a yearly rental of four shillings, which was first paid to him in 1168, and was continued to be paid to him or to his son Ralph for many subsequent years. As the town was contributing largely towards the expenses of building the castle, the townsfolk were not called upon to furnish a grant in aid of the marriage of the King's daughter, when Dunwich contributed £133 6s. 8d. and Ipswich £53 6s. 8d.

In 1169 the returns were made by Wimar, the chaplain,

who reported that the work of superintending the enclosing of the marshes was carried out by Ralph the clerk, Godwin Bigot, and Adam the clerk. By the "inning" of the marshlands the ferm of the town was increased by £15, doubtless on account of the great advantages which arose from having rich fertile land for cattle-grazing, and from the profits arising from the erection of a new mill.

Seven hundred sheep, six oxen, and two horses were purchased to supply the garrison and workmen with food, the sheep at less than one shilling, and the oxen and horses at three shillings, each. A barn, ox-stalls, and a neat-house were erected within the island marshes, and similar buildings are standing on the same site at this day. A cattle-boat was also purchased wherewith to convey the animals to and fro across the river. Barley and oats were bought, and everything seems to betoken that there was great activity in the matter of having abundant supplies at hand in case of a siege. Two servants were engaged as herdsmen, and furnished with a *corredium* or a necessary supply both of food and clothing for the services they rendered yearly. The town street was remade, and the needful tools of husbandry were collected.

In the year of Becket's martyrdom, 1170, work was still continued at the castle under the supervision of the two Normans from Ipswich, and the expenses were paid by Wimar, the sheriff. The next year saw the greater part of the fortress completed, and a wide fosse was made around the castle. The walls erected upon the inner mound of the fosse were protected by revolving bars bristling with spikes (*hericia*, from *hericius*, a hedgehog) and lofty wooden towers and stockades (*brestachia*). It can be easily seen from the present condition of the mound around the keep that there were two strong towers standing in close proximity on the north-west side of the castle, and that the stone

bridge by which entrance could be gained into the bailey or open space within the fortress walls was a firm, solid structure, protected by *bretesche* on the south side. Supplies were now taken into the castle—200 semes (a seme was eight bushels) of wheat, measured according to the Ipswich standard, at 2s. 2d. a seme; 100 hogs (*bacones*) at 2s. a hog; 500 cheeses at 2d. a cheese; as well as iron, salt, a quantity of tallow, three hand-mills, ropes, and small cords. A siege was expected, and was, in fact, not far distant, for we read that only one-fifth of the coal (*carbon*) purchased for the use of the castle had reached its destination; the rest had been captured by the Flemings. Two ships were hurriedly despatched from Orford to the King at Sandwich, and a garrison was hastily thrown into the castle before its defences were quite completed. The first payment for soldiers who defended the castle for the King was made in 1173, and amounted to £27 6s. Bartholomew de Glanville was still warden.

Henry II. was at the time in France quelling an insurrection in Aquitaine, when Richard de Lucy was called upon to defend his realm against the attacks of the Earls of Leicester and Norfolk. Leicester, with an army of Flemings, landed at the mouth of the Orwell, September 29th, 1173, and proceeded to attack Walton Castle, which had been taken by the King out of Earl Bigot's hands. Simon FitzSimon and Roger Sturmy were in command of the garrison. He failed in his attempt to capture it, and made a rapid march to Haughley. The castle of Haughley was chiefly constructed of timber, and was speedily burnt. The thirty soldiers who constituted its garrison under Ralph de Broc were made prisoners. An unsuccessful attack was made by the Flemings to capture Orford Castle, but they effected no greater damage than the partial destruction of the bretesches, although the garrison only numbered twenty soldiers. The town itself had fallen

The Chapel, Orford Castle.

into the hands of Earl Bigot. Each soldier was rewarded with a gift (*præstitium*) of £1 for his services. Leicester and his mercenaries were defeated at Fornham St. Geneviève by the loyal forces under Richard de Lucy and Humphrey de Bohun.

Meanwhile William, Count of Flanders, had landed in Norfolk, and marched south to Bungay and thence to Framlingham to join the rebel forces of Earl Bigot, whose men deserted upon the approach of Richard de Lucy's army. Framlingham and Bungay castles were captured; 500 carpenters and masons were sent from Orford to the King at Sileham to destroy these castles. The destruction was carried on under the supervision of the two Ipswich Normans, whose names are given as Robert Mantel and Alnodus the engineer. After repairing the bretesches of Orford and Walton castles, they levelled the walls of Framlingham Castle to the ground (*ad prosternendum*) and filled up the fosse (*ad persequendum fossatum*).

Ralph Brito was admitted to command the garrison of Orford Castle; the cost of moving his household furniture into the castle was five marks. In 1179 further necessary fittings were added, costing over £40. During the latter years of the reign of Henry II. the castle was held by Stephen, son of Bartholomew de Glanville, against the forces of the King's rebel son, Henry. In the reign of Richard I. the town of Orford was granted its first charter, so that its inhabitants held the privileges of burgesses before Ipswich obtained its charter.

In 1201 royal letters were sent to Theobald de Valoines for the restoration of Orford Castle, which was then placed in the hands of Robert de Grey. Some writers have made the conjecture that the wild man of the sea was a "prisoner obnoxious to the lord of the castle or one of his friends—a priest, perhaps, if we allow the shaven crown of the monster—whose detention was

dangerous, whilst his discovery was guarded against by tales adapted to the credulous nature of the times." Many historians place the time of the occurrence in the reign of King John. It is a curious fact that when the Bishop of Norwich was warden of the castle in 1205 an entry is made in the Exchequer Rolls of an expenditure of 6s. 6d. for a guard to convey William de Tresagor, parson, from Orford to the King at Oxford. This parson of Orford was the Bishop of Ely's man, a prelate, who, having published the Papal Interdict, was compelled to seek refuge upon the Continent. John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich, was the founder of the most interesting part of the castle yet standing, viz. the chapel. There may be seen the old Norman pillars, with their simple, quaint capitals, the aumbries, piscina, and the altar where that prelate said mass, where the mail-clad warrior knelt before his Maker, and the rough soldier offered up his vows.

In 1209 John of Cornwall was warden. During the war between John and his barons the town remained loyal to the King. On July 19th, 1215, a mandate was issued to John Marshall, then custodian of the castle, to hand it over to Hubert de Burgh. The following year the prisoners who were captured at Framlingham Castle were interned in Orford dungeons in the keeping of William de Evermue, who was ordered to send his prisoners, Joscelin de Oye and Odo de Verdeilet, to Dover Castle. When the French prince, Louis, landed in England, quantities of timber were sent to Orford Castle for its restoration; after using what was necessary, Hubert de Burgh sent the remainder to Dover for the King's use. After the capture of Berkhampstead Castle by Louis, Hubert de Burgh delivered up to him the castles of Norwich and Orford during the short time of truce. At this time Louis held all the castles in Essex and Suffolk.

The Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk held the castles

of Norwich and Orford in his hands, notwithstanding the petition of Pope Honorius III., 1220, that no person should have the custody of more than one of the King's castles at the same time. In 1221 a mandate was issued to pay to the sheriff the sum of five marks for the repair of Orford Castle and the construction of a bridge, and also the sum of one hundred shillings to repair the sheepfold in the King's marshes.

Richard Aguillon was warden of the castle for the years 1224-6. His soldiers, under command of Richard de Waldingfield, were sent to Colchester to purchase corn from the monks; the convoy was attacked by the garrison of Colchester Castle and plundered of its corn. Occasionally the soldiers of Orford Castle were sent to quell disturbances in the neighbouring district. Henry le Clavering, with the assistance of a soldier and fourteen armed servants, captured the house of Ranulphus de Sunderland at Benhall, and held it by force, fortifying it with a fosse and barricade. He was driven out of his stronghold by the Orford soldiers and confined in the castle.

The custodians were changed frequently, for we find Thomas de Ingoldsthorp, John de Ingoldsthorp, Henry de Nekton, and Hamon Papelew were wardens for the years 1236-40. It is probable that Henry III. himself visited Orford about the year 1240, for the French poet, Dennis Piramus, who accompanied his court to France, gives a glowing description of the town in his poem, "*La Vie Seint Edmund le Rey*," which, it is considered, was written in that year. The busy streets of the borough, the frequented market-place, and the crowded quays all gave him the opinion that the port which men called *Orefort* was in the days of King Edmund a great city, "*ancienne de antiquite*." He describes how the Danes invaded the town silently at night when all its inhabitants were in their beds, set fire to the four quarters of the town, slew all whom they found, and reduced the place to ashes.

Robert le Sauvage was Constable of Orford Castle in 1250, Philip Marmion of Tamworth in 1261, William de Swineford in 1268, and William de Boville in 1271.

During the war between Henry III. and his barons there was a constant struggle for the possession of Orford Castle. The barons made Roger Bigot, Earl of Norfolk, governor of the castle after the battle of Lewes, 1264, an honour subsequently conferred upon the Dispensers. The most notorious warden was Hugh de Dyneneton, 1272-76. Robbery and plunder were rife, for Dyneneton was in league with criminals. He seized the King's bailiff, Hugh le Swon, who was sent to capture one of the thieves residing under Dyneneton's protection at Categrave, and compelled him to abjure the town, 1273. In the same year two soldiers of the garrison, William Short and John Fitz Capellus, slew a burgess, William Haldane. To prevent the holding of an inquest, Dyneneton ordered the body of the murdered man to be taken far out to sea and sunk. The soldiers did not confine their depredations within the precincts of the town. Four of their number, Robert de Wereslei, William le Poer, Richard le Poer, and Richard Joseph, went to the house of William of Butley by night, carried him prisoner to the castle, where he was scourged till he died, and his body was buried "without the sanctuary," as if he were himself a criminal and murderer. Doubtless justice had been meted out to this monster of cruelty before Edward I. paid his visit to Orford, 11th April, 1277.

Other governors were Walter de Waleyns, 1289; William de Cleydune, 1302; Edmund Comyn, 1304. The last-named warden was slain in 1306, "and othir als of mekyll mayn."

The final war-blast sounded from the banks of the Ore when the royal command was issued, 1307, to fortify and safely guard the castles of Orford and Framlingham. These are the only two Suffolk castles mentioned among

the fifty-three royal castles of England for that year; Orford had been retained since its construction by the paramount power, Framlingham, as a baronial gift, became a royal possession. Their ruins yet stand to mark the strength and greatness of Baronial and Plantagenet fortresses in Suffolk.

Piracy was of frequent occurrence off the coast. Certain Orford merchants had visited Bruges and sold goods to the value of £1,000, which they embarked on the ship of William of Sluys to be conveyed to Orford. The vessel had been followed by ships from Flanders and captured off the Suffolk coast. The crew were murdered, and the goods were taken back to Sluys. When the Orford burgesses heard of their loss they seized all the Flemish ships in their port, and, having landed their cargoes, sunk the vessels.

The bold attack of foreign pirates close to our shores caused a commission to be appointed to enquire into the condition of Orford Castle, and William de Monte Acuto and John Percy were commanded to appoint a keeper should there not be one in it, January 28th, 1311. The following year it was ordained that the keepers of the castles on the sea coast were to be appointed by the King with the consent of Parliament. In 1312 Edward II. made a grant of the castle and town of Orford to Nicholas de Segrave for life; and in pursuance of this grant a mandate was issued to Roger de Wyngfield to deliver up to Nicholas de Segrave the castle then in his hands.

The extent of the castle lands in 1318 was not great. There were on the town side of the river half an acre of pasture, eight acres of arable land, a small portion of which the town claimed, and the site of a windmill. A watermill had been erected, but it had recently been submerged by the sea.

In 1335 John, son of William de Cleydon, died, seised of the manor and castle of Orford held of the heirs

of Richard Sturmy. In 1336 they were granted to Robert de Ufford, and in 1382 they were held by William de Ufford, upon whose death without issue the possessions passed, through his wife, into the hands of Richard Beauchamp, son and heir of her brother, Thomas Beauchamp.

The castle was no longer a fortress. After the fourteenth century it became the residential dwelling of the Poles, the Wingfields, and Sir Michael Stanhope. It subsequently formed part of the possessions of the Viscounts Hereford, the Marquis of Hertford, Sir Richard Wallace, Arthur Heyward, Esq., A. H. E. Wood, Esq., and now belongs to Kenneth M. Clark, Esq., of Sudbourne Hall.

The title of Viscount Orford was held by Bulstrode, Lord Whitlock, in 1657; the title of Earl Orford by Edward Russell, son of the Duke of Bedford, in 1697, and by Robert Walpole in 1742.

ORFORD CASTLE (ITS ARCHITECTURE).

The building material used in the construction of the castle was obtained from the rocks upon the seashore. The stone dressings to windows and doors, the parapets above the upper string-course, and quoins are all constructed of Caen stone. The stones used in the building of the castle are all small, the largest being about 9 in. deep and about 2 ft. 1½ in. wide; the average depth of the courses, however, is only about 6 in.

Evidently on account of the difficulty in obtaining sufficiently large stones, the treads to the staircases are formed of small stones built upon wood centering. The marks of this wooden centering are still clearly to be seen on the roughly plastered soffits of the steps. These steps are formed of stones 9 in. to 14 in. long, and the circular newel of the staircase is 10½ in. in diameter.

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ORFORD

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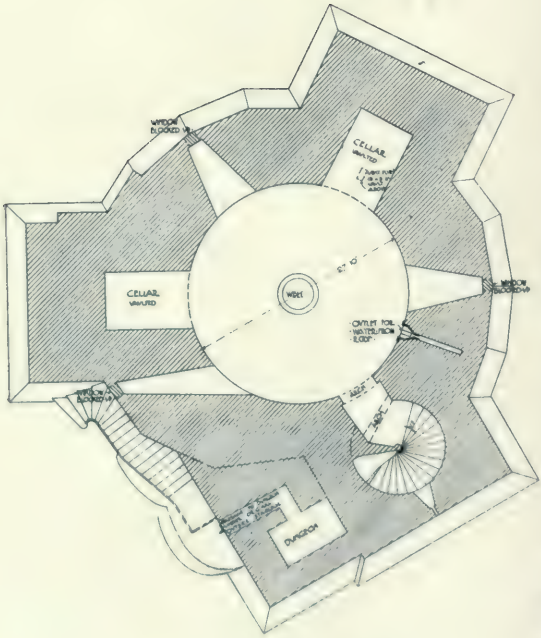

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The castle is recorded to have been begun in 1165 and finished in 1170. The chapel addition, though of similar workmanship to the rest of the building, was evidently added a few years later.

Conisborough Castle, in the valley of the Don, is very similar in character to the castle at Orford, and contains, like this latter building, an oven on its summit.

The oven in the north-east turret is built of brick, and was probably added at a much later date, when the castle was being used more as a residence than as a military stronghold alone.

The present outside steps are not the original ones, but the ends of the older ones are still to be traced where the same were built into the castle walls. Under the outer side of the walls of the keep was an undoubted prisoners' cell, which was supplied also with a latrine, and had probably an outside door.

Shutters once closed the windows of the first floor and elsewhere, as can be seen by the rebate formed on the window jambs.

Notice should be made of the large projecting key-stones to the two inner entrance arches, these being so formed to prevent the wood doors from being pushed up by an assailant attempting to obtain admission from the outside.

The peculiar construction of the stones forming the voussoirs and the key-stones to these arches are well worthy of attention.

The backs of most of the fireplaces in the castle, where burnt away, have been at a later date faced up with red tiles on edge, laid in herring-bone pattern.

The chapel is one of the most interesting objects in connection with the castle building. The original altar is still in position, though very much damaged, and measures 4 ft. 5½ in. in length by 1 ft. 8½ in. in depth, and it is 2 ft. 7½ in. high, being covered with a 5 in. stone having a splayed edge.

The piscina on the south side of the altar is 2 ft. wide by 12 in. deep, and over it is a small aumbry 1 ft. 1½ in. wide by 11 in. deep. The recess on the east wall of the side of the altar, which was probably for the ciborium, is 1 ft. 2 in. wide and 1 ft. 11½ in. deep.

The castle, it is said, was formerly the centre of the town, and had originally two circular ditches, one 15 ft., the other about 30 ft. distant from its walls. Their depth measured 15 ft., and at the bottom they were over 6 ft. broad.

Between the two ditches was a circular wall, part of which, until *circa* 1842, was standing opposite the north-east tower. It was 50 ft. long and 50 ft. in height, and had a parapet and battlements. The last of this wall is referred to by Davy in his *Suffolk Manuscripts* (August 26th, 1842): "I find the remains of the outer wall, which had long been in a dangerous state, have just been removed to the foundation; a storm some time since levelled the greater part of the wall with the ground."

There was a small building in the narrow space between the inner ditch and tower; it was destroyed about 1760, and was called the "Kettle House" (a house used for the storage of fish and fishing tackle).

The first entrance to the castle was over bridges placed on the west side, as shewn on the small block plan.

The whole of the original floors and roofs of the castle have gone, but the position of these can be clearly ascertained by the holes made in the walls for the reception of the ends of the beams carrying the floor joists, etc.

The corbels carrying the roof timbers are all to be seen in the large room on the third floor, and their position is indicated on the plan.

Grose, in his *Antiquities*, says: "that when the castle belonged to Lord Hereford in 1754 it was proposed to

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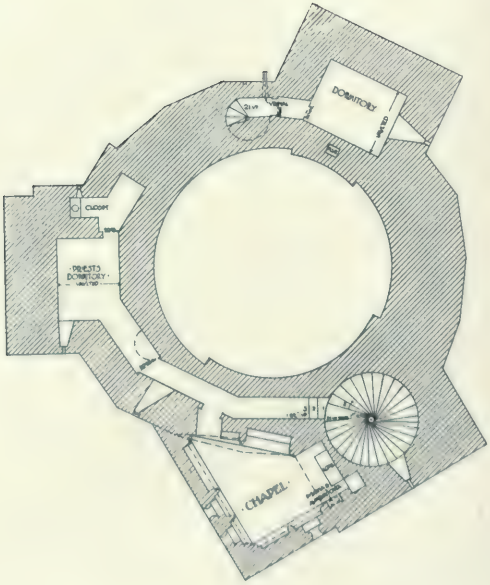

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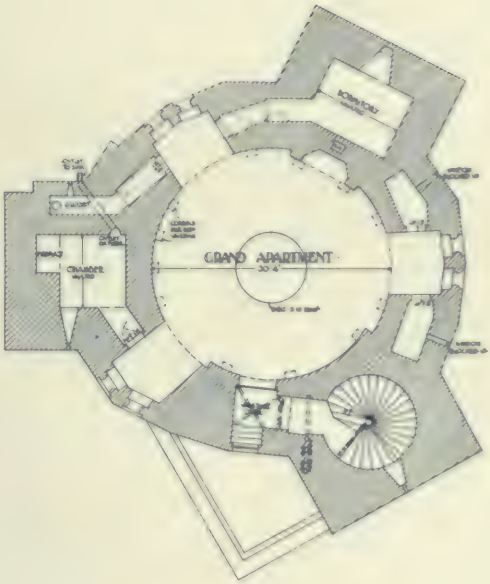

PLAN OF THE THIRD FLOOR

PHILP, TURNER, ALIDA AND ET AL
JULY 1907

have pulled it down for the sake of the material, but it being a necessary sea-mark, especially for ships coming from Holland, who, by steering so as to make the castle cover or hide the church, thereby avoid a dangerous sandbank called the Whiting, Government interfered and prevented the destruction of the building."

The tower can be seen at a distance of twenty-five miles at sea. The three square towers, which measure nearly 22 ft. in front, are embattled and overlook the polygon; that on the south-east corner is 90 ft. high to the top string-course—immediately under the embattlements, now destroyed—from the ground.

The castle is nearly two miles from the sea-shore and about half a mile from the river Ore, which runs between the sea and the castle.

The interior of the castle is divided into three floors; the towers, exclusive of the turrets, have five, two of which are entresols, and lie between the chief floors of the central ones.

There must have been formerly a porch at the head of the flight of the outside steps, the marks of the roof being distinctly seen against the wall of the building.

The entrance doorways appear at some time to have had portcullises; they were further strengthened by large timbers pushed through the wall across the doors; the slots for these bars are shewn on the plans.

The chief room of the first floor is about 21 ft. in height, the basement floor being about 17 ft. high. The roof and flooring of the grand apartment is modern.

The entrance to the turrets was probably effected by wooden stairs. Each of these turrets had two floors; only the lowermost of these now remains. The upper one was doubtlessly arrived at by a ladder.

The exterior wall is raised to form a parapet walk about 5 ft. 6 in. above the tread, and the wall itself is 2 ft. thick at this position.

The extreme width of the wall at the top of the central part is 8 ft. 8 in. The entire height of the central part to the ground is 70 ft., and from the summit of the western tower about 96 ft.

(See also notes on the plans of the Castle.)

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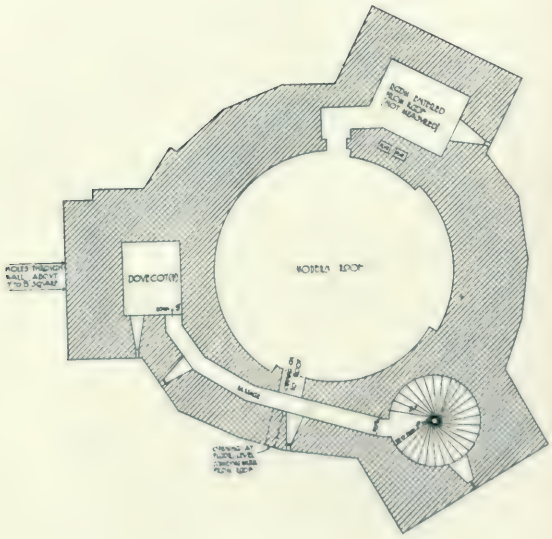

PLAN OF THE FOVRTH FLOOR

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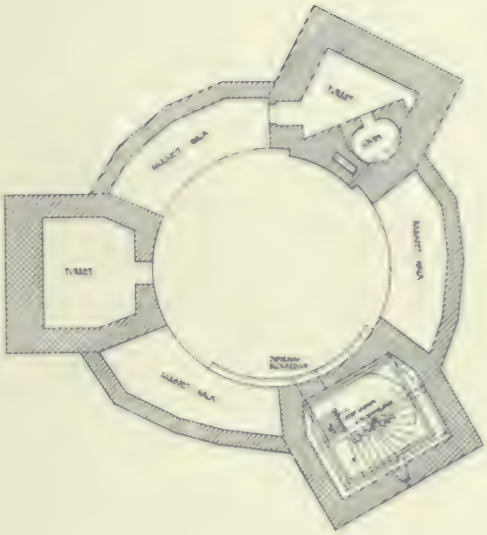

PLAN OF THE FIFTH FLOOR

RIOTS AND RUINS

By the Editor

THE foundation of many chapels, chantries and colleges of priests caused the rapid increase in the number of "clerks" in the towns and even the villages, who had but little wealth, and who were in numerous cases entirely dependent upon the charity of their neighbours and the gifts of the faithful for their daily bread. These "clerks," often compelled to beg for their food, naturally, in times of riots and disturbances, took side with the laity against the beneficed clergy and the wealthy monks. Nowhere was there greater cause for discontent among the "clerks" than at Bury St. Edmunds; there the Benedictine monks lived in the midst of ease and luxury. It cost the Abbey little effort to furnish banquets for kings and nobles, and to provide feasts at which Jocelin informs us over a thousand guests were present, and to enjoy which more than a hundred penitent townsfolk, with bare backs and clad only in their nether garments, lay on the hard ground before the Abbey gates, exposed to the bitter blasts of a cold January morning. Such a humiliation was considered worthy to be endured to gain the privilege of obtaining a seat at the Christmastide festivities. At times the younger burgesses would rise against the tyrannical rule of the Abbey. In 1264 forty-eight high-spirited youths entered into a conspiracy, under the name of a gild, against Abbot Simon. They prevented the Abbot and his retinue from passing through the north gate of

the town, shut the south gate against the sacristan and cellarer, and attacked the great gate of the monastery. They broke down the churchyard gate, and pursued the monks even unto the altars. For their boldness a fine of £40 was levied on the town, and an alderman and twenty-four elder burgesses were selected to assist the Abbot to govern the borough.

The late Miss Bateson, in her charming book, *Mediæval England*, commenting upon the difficulties experienced by the cellarer when collecting his dues from the burgesses states, that

"full of unintentional humour is Jocelin of Brakelond's representation of the Abbot of Bury's point of view. The cellarer and his men distraining on the furniture of the poor for certain sums of 'reap-silver' paid in lieu of harvest labour had been met by old women brandishing their saucepans (? distaffs—*cum colis suis minantes*) threatening and abusing them. So dangerous was the resistance that at last the abbot found his readiest means to arrive at a settlement was to make use of the burgesses' own despised court, the Portmanmoot, whose orders for distraint alone were deemed by the burgesses to be authoritative."

The "unintentional humour" is not that of Jocelin of Brakelond, but is that of a contemporary scribe who had inserted a chapter within Jocelin's chronicle (see *Cellarers' Register*, Cam. Univ. Library, fol. 316 *et seq.*). This scribe has not given a complete story of the events, and has omitted to state the fact that the burgesses at their own expense bought a void space of ground in the "Tannery," and erected a stone house for the use of the town bailiff. The writer has also neglected to enumerate all the hardships the townsfolk had to suffer at the hands of the cellarer and his men, passing over the fact that the cellarer often seized from the fullers, not only the webs which he found near the Abbey waters, but also the poles and cloths stretched upon them to dry, if he had not been provided with cloth for his salt.

The hall of the Portmanmoot was known as "Martis Hall," *i.e.*, Tuesday Hall, because every fortnight, upon

The Chapel, Leiston Abbey.

a Tuesday, the court was held within that hall. The place or "stow" on which it stood was "le mot stowe," now called "Mustowe." Near to it was the Abbey mint.

The great riot at Bury St. Edmunds in 1327 was of a political character, and was also a revolt against the exactions of an uncompromising landlord. Edward II. held his court at Bury St. Edmunds for the Christmas week in 1325; in the following year, September, 1326, Queen Isabella and Mortimer landed at the mouth of the Orwell, marched on to Bury St. Edmunds, and seized all the treasure they could find. Soon after the deposition of Edward II. (20th January, 1327) an insurrection arose which spread to no less than thirteen neighbouring villages. The principal ringleader of the town rioters was a Robert Foxton, who in a former year, 1320, had lodged a complaint in the King's Court against the Abbot for trespass and assault of his brother, Adam Foxton. Among the mob was Foxton's brother, Henry, who was Rector of Monks Eleigh. Another ringleader was one of the same name as the Abbot, Richard Drayton, a wealthy merchant of the town. Other rioters, Fouk, Lucas, Clopton, and Paston, had bound themselves under certain obligations to the Abbot; these bonds were seized by the mob and destroyed. The Prior, Peter de Clopton, and twelve monks were confined as prisoners in "La Ledenhalle"; Robert de Chikeneye, Ralph de Cavenham, Edmund de Tatyngton, Laurence de Denurdiston and other monks, as well as four servants of the Abbey, were slain; chests, books, vestments, ornaments, and utensils were carried off; three charters of Canute, four of Hardicanute, one of Edward the Confessor, two of Henry I. and two of Henry III. were stolen, together with cups of great value and large sums of money. The burgesses held the markets, took fines, tolls and amercements, and collected the town-rents. The seal of the gild merchant which Abbot Samson had placed within the Abbey church for safety was taken and used

Various commissions were held at Elveden and Bury St. Edmunds to try the rioters; fourteen were hanged, and it is interesting as throwing a light upon subsequent proceedings to note that Juliana la Barbour, condemned to be hanged, was reprieved as she was discovered to be with child.

On the 18th August, 1327, Thomas de Thornham with a band of outlaws invaded the town, banqueting at early dawn at Moyse's Hall. This is the earliest mention we have of this the oldest of Bury houses, and in connection with this riot the question again arises:— Was the hall so called because it was the hall of either Robert Moose, butcher, or William Mose, chaplain, both of whom were among the rioters on this occasion?

A year later, 18th October, 1328, John de Berton, Gilbert Barber, Sir William de Cricketot, Richard Freysel, armiger (subsequently prominent leaders in the French Wars), with many outlaws and Londoners, kidnapped the Abbot, Richard Drayton, and carried him off to Flanders. Gilbert Barber may probably have been connected with Juliana la Barbour already mentioned. Although all the "outlaws" concerned in this act were excommunicated by the Pope, we find Sir Richard Freysel, knight, pleading on behalf of the new Abbot, against the Bishop of Norwich, that by royal letters patent he was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction. For this act Sir Richard Freysel was again placed under the ban of excommunication by Bishop Bateman of Norwich, and subsequently by the Pope.

Sir Robert de Ufford was the King's right hand when night and day the county was harassed by armed robbers. A certain band of lawless men made Stowmarket church their headquarters and thence issued to terrorize the neighbourhood. They drove Sir Richard de Amundeville from his house at Thorney. In 1344 men were riding with banners displayed, taking men, imprisoning them and holding them to ransom, perpetrating homicides,

arson and other evils. Royal license was obtained for the fortifying of their manor houses by Helming Legette of Pond Hall, Hadleigh, Nicholas Bonde of Harkstead, John de Cockfield of Moulton, and Sir John de Norwich of Mettingham. Sir Robert de Ufford was rewarded with the earldom of Suffolk for his services against the rioters. The turbulent spirits for a time quitted the country to fight in France, or in the fleet under command of William de Ufford, who succeeded to the earldom of Suffolk on his father's death in 1369. The burgesses of Ipswich at this period obtained a license to fortify the walls of their town; a small remnant of the walls still standing is called "The Ramparts."

In 1377, about ten days after the death of Edward III., the harrying of the southern coast by the French brought out the Suffolk men-at-arms and archers. Beacons were watched to send the signal of their approach throughout the county. Two years later the King demanded loans for the war. The Earl headed the list with £100; the men of Hadleigh gave £50, the burgesses of Bury 50 marks, and of Ipswich £40, while the men of Alderton and Bawdsey gave 40 marks. This was followed by the calling out by the sheriff of all able men between the ages of sixteen and sixty to resist invasion.

The Hundred Years' War educated the peasant and serf in the art of war, and imbued him with a restless spirit of discontent. A very small matter was needed to rouse the villeins to manifest their strength of numbers, and to turn upon their own lords and countrymen those arms which they had lately employed with so much success in France. The poll-tax fanned the smouldering discontent into a flame, which raged violently in the Eastern Counties. The first victim of the rebellion of 1381 was Archbishop Simon of Sudbury. He is believed to have been born in Sudbury, but it is possible that he was a native of London, as his father, Nigel Theobald or Tebaud, was a citizen of London and carried on the trade

of a "chaucer" in Bread Street. The Archbishop was a great benefactor to Sudbury burgesses; he held lands and houses in the town, as well as the advowson of the church of St. Gregory, in which church his embalmed head was preserved after his death.

Another victim to the fury of John Ball's followers was Sir John Cavendisshe, whose house was ransacked at Bury St. Edmunds. When he attempted to escape the mob seized and beheaded him in the neighbourhood of Lakenheath. A further gang of rebels, at the instigation of Thomas Halesworth and Geoffrey Denham, seized and murdered the Prior of Bury Abbey at Mildenhall. Halesworth and Denham are stated to have been servants of the Prior, and to have avenged some personal grievance in the death of their lord. But if this were so they did not suffer the penalty of death for their crime, for the will of Geoffrey Denham was proved at Bury St. Edmunds in 1414, and that of Thomas Halesworth was proved in the same town seven years later. The disturbance between the monks and townsfolk might have arisen from the disputes which had been existing within the abbey itself, owing to the election of Edmund Brounfield as Prior in 1378 by the Pope, in the place of John Tymworth, the choice of the monks themselves. The burgesses supported the cause of Brounfield, so that it is difficult to understand why the rioters so keenly sought the death of Walter de Tatyngton, who had taken so prominent a part in the election as a partisan of Brounfield. Tatyngton escaped and was subsequently made warden of St. Saviour's Hospital, 1385. Enraged at the escape of Tatyngton, the rebels next demanded John de Lakenheath, the *Custos Baroniae*, who, scorning to fly, boldly proclaimed himself and was handed over to the mob, who dragged him with great violence to the market-place; his head, having been barbarously hacked off with eight blows, was placed with the heads of the Chief Justice and John de Cambridge, the Prior, upon the pillory.

The College Ruins, Mettingham.

There appear to be reasons for believing that, apart from the general social disturbance prevailing throughout the county, a connection existed between the riots at Bury St. Edmunds and those which occurred in the same month at Ipswich. Brounfield had fled to Ipswich and had sought safety in the walls of the Priory of the Carmelites, situated near St. Stephen's Church, Ipswich. Sir John Cavendisshe held property in Ipswich and the immediate district, and had presented John, Rector of St. Stephen's, to that benefice. This was the only living in Ipswich then in lay hands; the private chapel or church dedicated to St. Martin and All Saints, the property of the Nekton or Necton family, was no longer in existence. Not far from the rectory of St. Stephen's, and in the parish of St. Lawrence, was the substantial residence of John Gerard; these houses, as well as that of John Cobet, the collector of the poll-tax, were ransacked by the mob. John Cobet was a leading burgess; he was bailiff of Ipswich in 1369, and was once the owner of the valuable transcript of the Domesday Roll of the *Laws and Usages of Ipswich*, which was bought in 1862 by the Trustees of the British Museum at the sale of the late Sir Francis Palgrave. Cobet may himself have been the writer of this important volume. The rebels, headed by Richard Talemache of Bentley, Thomas Sampson, lord of the manor of Bucklesham, and John Battisford, Rector of that parish, captured in Ipswich one William Fraunces of Melton, who was soon afterwards beheaded. John Gerard escaped execution; he died in 1408. The fury of the mob was directed against the supporters of the Lancastrian party. The houses of Roger de Wolfreston at Culpho, of John de Sutton at Stratford, of George Glanville at Hollesley, and of John de Staverton at Eyke, were among the number of those dwellings which were plundered and wrecked by the rioters.

The principal event in North Suffolk during the rebellion was the two successive assaults and plunderings

of Mettingham Castle, held by Sir John Plays and Sir Robert Howard for Katherine Brews. Goods and arms to the value of £1,000 and £40 in money were secured at the first attack; in the second attack the followers of John Wrawe, parson of Ringsfield Church, gained little booty.

Mettingham Castle was situated in the north-east borders of Suffolk, one mile from Bungay and three miles from Beccles, in the midst of a woodland district. The castle itself stood at the south-east corner of a common, and was surrounded by a moat and a stone wall 30 feet high and 3 feet in thickness. There was a strongly-built gate-house, over which was a room and a tower commanding a distant view of the neighbourhood. On either side of the gate-house were lodgings for the porter and various servants. Within the immediate entrance was a base court 258 feet in length and 152 feet in breadth, having on the north and west a strong stone wall; the main buildings were on the south. These buildings consisted of a hall, a parlour with walls of wainscot ornamented with the arms of the Master of the College, a chamber attached to the parlour, a vestry and vestry chamber, a pantry, buttery, larder, wine cellar, over which were the guest chambers, a kitchen, bakehouse, brewhouse and malthouse. There was added to these buildings a house called "Cynnye Hall." The old castle stood away from the mansion house and covered an area 80 feet in length and 50 feet in breadth; it was surrounded by a moat. Near by the priests of the college had made four little ponds, called Friday ponds. These ponds were used to preserve fish caught on other days of the week till the Friday following. A well-cultivated garden and an orchard supplied the priests with an abundance of fruit and vegetables for their table. The outer as well as the inner moat was well stored with roach, bream, tench, and perch, which formed a bountiful supply for priests, otters and pike.

Whilst, doubtless, the riots were due in a large measure

to the grievance of the heavy imposition of the poll-tax, and to the grievance arising from the servile condition of the peasantry, the rebellion appears to have been greatly fostered by manorial lords eager to avenge themselves upon some neighbouring landlord. The disturbances were, in fact, those of 1327 and 1344 carried on under other circumstances; the services of discontented peasants and disbanded soldiers were used in the place of retainers and mercenaries. The outbreak in Suffolk did not betray the existence of any ill-feeling between the regular and secular clergy. The parsons and rectors who headed various gangs of rioters were leaders on behalf of men to whom they owed the introduction to their benefices; the quarrel of their patron was their quarrel.

When the whole country was embroiled in partisan warfare, religious activity gained further energy in the county of Suffolk. The time of civil war was a period when ecclesiastical buildings, religious houses, and hospitals sprang up in the populous centres of the county. The strong religious revival introduced by the coming of the friars (who numbered East Anglians among their first and most energetic preachers, and claimed Robert Grossetête, a native of Stradbrooke, for their warmest supporter) was nowhere so great as in East Anglia. Abbeys and priories had been founded by large landowners in the twelfth century: the friars founded their establishments in the thirteenth century. The communities of the early monasteries ever sought to increase their own temporalities; the friars, on the other hand, lived with, and for, their neighbours. The friars found a warm patron in Henry III. This King favoured the foundation of houses of the Black Friars in Dunwich, Ipswich, and Sudbury, giving timber from the royal forests for the erection of the houses upon the royal demesne within these boroughs, even up to within the very walls and ditches of the town. From forty to fifty friars found refuge and shelter in each of these religious establishments; both Henry III. and

his son Edward I. bestowed alms to provide several days' food for the friars when a royal visit was made to the neighbourhood. The local nobility bestowed their wealth upon the itinerant preachers and sought a final resting-place within their cemetery. The Suffolk families of the Uffords, Giffards, Weylands, Brews, Wingfields, Walgraves, and St. Quintyns were chief among the patrons of the friars. The Dominicans, as well as the Franciscans, sought to establish themselves in St. Edmund's Bury, but were strongly opposed by the monks in 1238. After a long dispute between monks and friars, the Franciscans, who had the support of Henry III., left their home within the borough and founded a house at Babwell, where land had been bestowed upon them by the Abbot and Convent of Bury, 1263. The peace of the Babwell "Minorites of St. Edmund," as they called themselves, was threatened to be disturbed by the action of the monks in the reign of Edward I., 1302. It was resolved by the Abbot and Convent of St. Edmund to remove their Court of Pleas for the liberty of St. Edmund, from Cateshill, Great Barton, to a site at Babwell, close by the house of the friars. This caused an alarm among the Grey Friars, "for the reason that if a heavy rain or tempest should happen, the people would have no place of refuge for themselves or their horses except within the church of the friars. Further, the assembly would be so vast that the friars would not be able to say mass because of the press and noise without." "Pity, O Sire!" runs the petition of the friars, "your poor supplicants, and let not the masses or prayers which the friars shall say for you be so greatly disturbed. But, Sire! if it please you, command by your letter, that the house (of pleas) be removed, and be planted nearer to the town, so that, should rain fall in torrents the people may speedily find refuge within the town." The petition of the friars was

The Refectory, St. Olave's Priory.

granted; Edward I. compelled the Abbot to hold his Court of Pleas at Henhowe, not at Babwell. These three places, Babwell, Henhowe, and Catteshill, are prominent sites in the neighbourhood. By the persuasion of the papal legate, Otho, the Dominicans quitted the neighbourhood of Bury St. Edmunds in 1258. Another community of friars, the "Crutched Friars," was settled at Great Whelnetham. They were recipients of a donation of nine shillings as a pittance from Edward I. when he made a three days' sojourn at Bury St. Edmunds, 1277. Between the years 1275 and 1305 Edward made no less than thirteen visits to Bury St. Edmunds; his stay there varied in length from three weeks to one day. The number of inmates in the friary of Whelnetham was twelve. All traces of the existence of most of the religious houses in Suffolk have been entirely swept away. There still remains a picturesque Tudor farmhouse in Great Whelnetham, known as "Crutched Friars," but the ecclesiastical buildings have been destroyed.

Ipswich is entirely destitute of monastic remains; those of Bury St. Edmunds are well known. On some sites there still stand picturesque ruins; few, however, mark the glories of the religious houses to which they belonged. Butley has yet the old priory gateway covered with the armorial bearings of its early patrons; at Thetford and Letheringham, too, may be seen priory gateways of more humble pretensions. The ruins of Leiston Abbey rank among the finest in Suffolk. Interesting remains of the chancel and transepts of its church are still standing, while other parts of the church are built up into the walls of the adjoining farm buildings. The fragments of the chapter house, the abbot's hall and the refectory have a noble appearance. At Dunwich the ivy-clad ruins of the Franciscan priory can be seen; they retain their picturesque gateways and enclose within their walls part

of "the King's dyke" which formerly surrounded the town. Near to these walls is the ancient "burg" formerly occupied by the round thatched church of the Knights Templars. At Herringfleet there is a most interesting vaulted chamber, which once formed part of St. Olave's Priory; some of its massive walls have defied destruction. The present occupier, Dr. W. A. S. Wynne, has recently brought to light many interesting remains of the priory of the Austin Canons which stood near the ancient ferry across the river Waveney. Of the religious houses of Bungay, Hoxne, Woodbridge, Snape, and Felixstowe, not a stone remains; a single lump of concrete stands as the solitary monument of the existence of Dodnash Priory. The ruins of Kersey monastery form a small part of a stable wall; Flixton ruins are a few yards of rubble structure; the remains of Rumburgh Priory provide the parish church; Blythburgh Priory has its foundations visible in the garden of Mr. Seymour Lucas, R.A.; and the remains of the nuns' dwellings at Campsey constitute part of farm buildings.

The destruction of roadside chapels and hermitages in Suffolk has been as complete as that of religious houses. Here and there, as at Flixton and Leiston, chapel ruins still stand on deserted sites; occasionally, as at Foxhall and Lindsey, the full extent of the chapel may be seen in an existing barn; and often, as at Little Whelnetham, the ruins of chapel walls may be seen in the churchyard, but more frequently, as at Thorpe, Sogenhoe, Great Bealings, and elsewhere, the landowner who obtained the site has cleared away all "stick and stone" that he might have a few more yards of soil to let out to farm. Suffolk wayside crosses could never have been of an elaborate character owing to the dearth of material in the district. It is interesting to know that the smaller images of the cross erected at Blackfriars

Chapel of St. Petronilla, Wenham Hall.

to Queen Eleanor of Castile, 1290, were the work of William "of Suffolk."

Where there are old manor houses and halls there may be existing private chapels still bearing traces of their former use. Jocelin of Brakelond informs us that the first work of Abbot Samson when he entered upon the government of the Abbey of St. Edmund was to repair the "old halls and unroofed houses round which hovered kites and crows. He built new chapels, and likewise inner chambers and upper stories in many places where there never had been any dwelling house at all, but only barns." The two most interesting private chapels are those of Little Wenham Hall, in East Suffolk, and Hengrave Hall, near Bury St. Edmunds. The chapel of Wenham Hall, dedicated in honour of St. Petronilla, is immediately above the store-room, and is entered by a doorway of remarkable elegance placed between the arched openings, each divided by an octagonal shaft. No glazing was used, and the original shutters remain. The chapel has a groined roof, with excellent mouldings; the ribs meet in a boss in the centre, on which is carved, within a vesica, a figure—St. Petronilla in the act of blessing. The eastern window is of three lights, with foliated circles for tracery; the north and south windows are simple lancets, in one of which the original shutter is still left. There is a handsome piscina in the south wall, and an aumbry, or locker, in the north wall. The north side has also one of those curious side windows about the use of which much has been conjectured, and about which nothing has been definitely established. As a leper's window or confessional the Whelnetham window would have been impracticable, owing to its height from the ground (about 20 feet) on the outside. The supposition that it was designed for ventilation appears also untenable, for ventilation could hardly be wanted

where other windows were unglazed. A door from the chapel leads into the turret staircase, which gives ascent to another apartment. The style and character of this chapel are exactly similar to those of the church, which is a stone's-throw distant; both were probably erected about 1260. The late Mr. G. E. Crisp, of Playford Hall, as owner of Wenham Hall, took very great interest in the place and had it carefully and judiciously restored. His sisters, the Misses R. and E. Crisp, also incurred great expense in repairing and preserving the parish church, which had become the home of bats and owls, and was exposed within to the inclemency of the weather.

SOME EAST SUFFOLK HOMESTEADS

By Rowland W. Maitland, M.A.

NO part of England was more prosperous and more densely populated in mediæval times than that part which is somewhat vaguely called East Anglia.

We might therefore expect to find abundant traces of mediæval and renaissance work in the county of Suffolk, not only in the churches and monastic buildings, and in the castles and halls of the great nobles, but even in the humbler buildings of the yeomen and the gentry, which, for want of a better name, we may call the homesteads of Suffolk.

Nor shall we be disappointed in our search if only we know where to look. But numerous though these homesteads be, yet by the casual traveller, who hurries past in train or motor-car, they are seldom seen. Situated away in distant fields and side roads, which the ever-shifting tide of population has now forsaken, they often require a special journey to be made if they are to be visited at all. We may say, then, for the benefit of those who care for memorials of the past, that the smaller halls and manor houses are to be found chiefly in the eastern part of the county, and in the opposite direction, therefore, to that in which most of the great mansions are situated.

The reason for this may easily be explained by the fact that in pre-Reformation times the abbey of Bury

St. Edmunds had possession of the greater part of West Suffolk. The Dissolution came, when the vast estates of the abbey were parcelled out among the new nobility, who were then rising to power, and to whom we owe the existence of most of the great houses of Suffolk. On the other hand, we find that in East Suffolk from time immemorial the land was divided among that class of country gentry to whom we owe the smaller mansions.

These homesteads and halls, however, which form such a picturesque feature in the Suffolk landscape, were not always looked upon with the affection with which we regard them to-day. Reyce, writing in 1618, in his *Suffolk Breviary* contrasts them with the older halls which had preceded them:—

"Thick were their walls of squared or rough stone, brick, or strong timber, their windows small, their chimneys large, or instead of them, to have round hearths in the middle of their great halls or rooms: whereas our buildings (*sic*) at this day is chiefly to place the houses where they may be furthest seen, have best prospect, sweetest air, and greatest pleasure, their walls thin, whether with brick, stone, or timber, their lights large, all for outward show, their rooms square, raised high, commonly with three, often with four, stories. Their roofs square and so slender that they are enforced often to repair, and in all buildings this one thing is observed, spare of stuff, scarcity of timber, and that workman that can do his work with most beauty, least charge, he is more required."

It is curious to read at the present day these same charges brought against the old methods of house building which we are wont to apply to the jerry-building of modern times.

These "new mansions," which are old and venerable to us now, seem to our degenerate taste at least solid and substantial enough, and we naturally wonder what kind of house it was which they succeeded.

But of these older halls none remain sufficiently perfect to answer our question. One, indeed, is to be found in the hall of Little Wenham, but this partakes rather of the nature of a castle than of a dwelling-house. Situated about eight or ten miles to the south-west

of Ipswich, it stands unique among the specimens of domestic architecture in Suffolk.

Probably erected by one of the Holbrooks in the latter end of the thirteenth century, it forms a parallelogram, attached to which on the east side is a square projection, the north walls of both being in the same straight line. The main building consists of two rooms; the lower, with a groined roof, communicates with the eastern apartment by an arched doorway. The upper room is accessible from the exterior by means of an outside staircase, and was doubtless the principal apartment; it was lighted by four windows of two lights each without glass. The kitchens and outhouses were probably of wood and detached from the main building. The chapel above the small eastern room is entered by a doorway of great elegance placed between two arched openings, each divided by an octagonal shaft. The material of the building is chiefly flint, with stone dressings for the quoins and buttresses; it is similar, in fact, to the church material of that period.

Little Wenham stands first both in regard to its style and date. Fully two centuries pass by and then we come upon a type of building which varied but slightly for the next hundred and fifty years. We have, fortunately, many specimens left at the present day of houses built of red brick with massive chimneys and mullioned windows. Some of them are well known. Parham Hall, near Framlingham; Seckford Hall, near Woodbridge; Crow's Hall, near Debenham, to mention only a few of the number, are frequently visited on account of the exceptional character of their architecture. But other halls quite as interesting are to be found, though hidden away where few can find them. For those who are able to find their way to Crow's Hall, it may be interesting to know that there is another old hall standing not far off upon the road from Debenham to Ipswich. Although one of the most interesting

houses in the county, yet it is only to be found upon the ordnance map under the prosaic name of Boundary Farm. It is situated on the boundary line or procession way between Framsden and Winston. It is a delightful old gabled house, and separated from the road by a low brick wall of great thickness and solidity. The outside has been whitewashed, but the inside has every indication of former grandeur.

We enter direct into the large square hall, on the one side of which is the parlour, with a fine plaster ceiling, and on the other the spacious kitchen and domestic offices. An interesting feature in connection with the latter may be noticed in the curious contrivance still existing for storing the home-brewed beer in the cellar beneath. An oaken post projects from the floor of the passage, and is hollowed in the middle. By this means a wooden pipe is conveyed through the floor of the passage into the cellar. Thus the beer after coming from the brewhouse was poured down this pipe into barrels placed to receive it in the cellar below.

The stables may also be noticed. Built in the Jacobean style, with the date —'67 over the ornamental doorway, we pass into a building, which, at one time, doubtless formed what we might call an annexe to the main building. The stalls for the horses are of finely carved oak, while in the loft are the remains of a large room with the outlines of a fire-place.

One other feature remains to be noted—a typical sixteenth or seventeenth century summer-house, with ornamental plaster ceiling and high-pitched roof, situated so as to obtain a fine view across the valley. Near by is Framsden Hall, which contains many points of interest. The magnificent open timber-work roof takes us back to the time when the great hall reached up to the roof, but now, alas! it is so partitioned and divided that it is necessary to climb to the attics to examine the carved beams. The chief interest, however, lies in the great barn—a building

Red House, Knoddishall.

The Old Hall, Parham.

probably contemporaneous with the house itself. About two hundred feet in length, of massive brick, it gives one a vivid insight into the domestic arrangements of an ancient homestead, and helps to arrest the mistaken idea which we have when we speak of these old halls as having "come down" to the position of farmhouses, forgetting the fact that they were in reality never anything else.

Another ancient barn with stables is to be found at Baylham Hall, about five miles to the north-west of Ipswich. It stands some way from the village of Baylham, upon high ground, which affords a picturesque view of both hall and ancient out-house as we approach.

The out-house is composed of one continuous low building about fifty yards long, lying to the west of the hall; it is built of red brick with plaster and black timber above. From its position it seems possible that there was a similar building to the east of the hall. The brickwork is massive with the depressed Tudor arch in door and window.

The hall itself—originally the seat of the Acton family—was at one time much larger in area; traces of foundations are visible on the east side. We may note the attempt to give it the appearance of a stone house by the brickwork having been covered with plaster. No doubt brickwork was considered unsuitable for the pilasters and architraves and all the classical features in which seventeenth century taste revelled. A building in "exact architecture," to use Evelyn's expression, required stone, or at least some substitute for it, a feature which, to our modern taste, is not to be compared to the mellowed and time-tinted bricks as we see them before us now.

Nathaniel Acton, the builder of the hall, evidently determined that his house should be in the "very latest style," for within we find a staircase which is hard to

be matched as an example of Elizabethan woodwork. Its fine oak pillars, however, have been cut off to ornament the church; two only are left, surmounted by a Tudor crown.

Near by is the High Hall, Nettlestead, a copy, probably, in many details of the larger hall of Baylham. Nettlestead High Hall, however, has almost entirely escaped the hand of the restorer. The exterior is perfect, and shows in an excellent manner the struggles between the classic and the old county domestic style. Here, again, plaster has been used to hide the brickwork, but the house itself is smaller, and has none of the pretentiousness of Baylham Hall. The main entrance is placed modestly at the side, an unusual feature, and the door of old oak has still the hammer of beaten iron, doubtless placed there when the house was built. We naturally wonder upon entering such a house as this who the people were who lived here in the days of its grandeur, and what sort of man he was who could build a house so small in size and yet showing in every feature the same refinement which is to be found in stately halls such as those of Helmingham or Rushbrooke.

It was indeed the house of a member of a class of society now extinct.

The landed gentry, who are responsible for the building of such houses as Nettlestead or Baylham, formed at one time the most important class in the nation. They came in personal contact with the labouring classes, for, as a rule, they did not disdain to act as their own bailiffs. At the same time they were allied to the nobility by ties of blood and possessed the same pride of race, yet did not refuse to mingle with the merchants and citizens of the town, beside whom they sat in Parliament, and from whose ranks they were often recruited. Most of these old halls have long since passed away from their original owners. One, however, Flemings Hall, near Debenham, was, until recent years,

Baylham Hall.

in the possession and occupation of the ancient family of Bedingfield.

The old moat, always a feature in a Suffolk homestead, encompasses the site, embracing house, stables, and garden. The plan of the house is simple—just one long building with a great brick porch in front, and fine brickwork at either end, crowned by splendid chimneys.

The inside, however, is marvellous for the quantity of oak used in its construction. Again we think of Reyce and his strictures, and wonder how much timber would have satisfied his critical taste if such houses as Flemings Hall were condemned for the want of it.

An oak staircase leads to a spacious gallery floored, and originally entirely panelled, with oak. We open an oak door and peep into a room likewise panelled and floored with oak throughout. The doorways are of oak, the great beams which support the ceilings are of massive oak, too, only to be obtained when the supply was generous, and when solidity and permanence were the first considerations.

The oak work of Flemings Hall, however, is plain and solid. If we seek specimens of woodwork more elaborate and refined, we cannot do better than find our way to Otley Hall, some two miles south of the great house of Helmingham.

Otley Hall is interesting within and without, but it is with the panelling only that we have time to concern ourselves. There we see the linen-fold pattern at its best. On one piece of wall panelling alone four different variations can be counted, carved with a delicacy which shows the richness of the fittings of some of these old houses. The hall, too, has some splendid pieces of carving, deep and bold, though all did not originally belong to the house.

As we might expect, however, these old halls are interesting, not only in themselves, but also for their

associations. The yeoman class, which gradually succeeded the old feudal gentry, have been well called the backbone of old England.

Prominent amongst them in the county of Suffolk were the Sancrofts, who owned Ufford Hall, in the parish of Fressingfield. They were destined, however, to rise to fame, not for the lands which they acquired, but through the fact that one of them was the famous William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Born in 1616, he was the second son of Francis Sancroft, of Ufford Hall. His uncle happening to be Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, young Sancroft was sent to that seat of learning, and was afterwards ordained. Doubtless his connection with his native place would then have ceased if it had not been for the troubled times in which he lived.

As Archbishop of Canterbury, he was the leader among those bishops who resisted King James' autocratic claim to dispense with the laws, and was among those who signed the famous invitation to William of Orange. Under that monarch, however, his lot seems to have been no happier; his refusal to take the oath of allegiance to the new monarch caused him to be put out of his archbishopric. Fearing that he would be arrested, he determined upon going—to use his own words—"100 miles into the deepest retirement." On August 5th, 1691, he arrived at Ufford Hall, Fressingfield, then the residence of his brother. Two years later, on August 25th, 1693, he was seized with a violent fever, from which he died on November 24th of the same year. He was buried at Fressingfield church on November 29th.

The house is in very much the same condition as it was when the Archbishop died. Traces of the moat can still be seen, and two ancient yew trees guard the entrance as they probably did when he lived there. The house is filled with old oak, probably bought and fitted up when the house was built. There are some fine

hinges upon the door of one of the bedrooms. The kitchen is remarkable; its fireplace is of enormous size.

Few toasts were more frequently honoured during the reign of George II. than that of the fair lady of whom Pope loved to sing, "Sweet Molly Lepell."[1] The daughter of Nicholas Lepell, a foreigner, holding the rank of brigadier in the British Army, she became, while still young, a maid of honour to the Princess of Wales, afterwards Queen Caroline, wife of George II. Her father had married Mary Brooke (Marriage License 10th August, 1698), and by this marriage, his wife's parents being dead, he became possessed of what is generally called at the present time the "High House," at Rendlesham. As we pass along the road from Campsea Ash to Rendlesham, we notice it on our left hand—a tall, gaunt red-brick house, which, as we approach, seems to wear a peculiar air of grimness and solitude. And yet it was here that the fair Molly Lepell passed her youth until her entrance into the great world of London. Little of interest is to be found inside the house now; the old fittings and wainscot have been taken away. Doubtless the unusual height of the house as it now appears is due to the fact that certain parts have been pulled down when the place was turned into a farmhouse.

Not far away and close to the model village of Easton stand the remains of the priory of the Austin Canons of Letheringham, a cell of the priory of St. Peter's, Ipswich.

At the dissolution of the monasteries, Letheringham passed into the hands of the Nauntons, who built the hall now standing close beside the church. Like most other houses of the same class it was once larger, but it is now reduced to one long range of buildings, of which the main features externally are the enormous chimneys standing out from the wall like great pyramids of red brick.

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1 Mary Lepell married in 1720 Lord John Hervey, eldest son of Lord John Hervey, who was created Earl of Bristol, 19th October, 1714.

Although rebuilt by the late Duke of Hamilton, they are similar in every detail to those of the original building, and give us an interesting glimpse of the domestic economy of an ancient manor house. Inside there still remain a fine old oak staircase, plain, but beautiful in its proportions, and a large panelled room with a smaller closet opening out of it.

Horace Walpole visited the house in 1735, when it was still in the hands of its original owners, and in a letter to his friend, Richard Bentley, he describes it thus:—

"We went to see an old house built by Secretary Naunton. His descendant, who is a strange, retired creature, was unwilling to let us see it, but we did, and little in it worth seeing. The house never was fine, and is now out of repair—has a bed with ivory pillars, and bone rings, presented to the secretary by some German prince—and a small gallery of indifferent portraits, among which there are scarce any worth notice."

The bed with ivory pillars is gone, the pictures are gone, and yet much there is in the place worth seeing, in spite of Horace Walpole, who would probably have preferred to have seen the house restored in that Gothic style which he afterwards perpetuated at Strawberry Hill.

There remain many ancient halls and manor houses which might easily be included in such an article as this if space would only permit. Almost every East Suffolk village gives us one if not two examples of such old houses. Many of them serve the purpose of modern farmhouses, as Newbourn Hall; some have degenerated into cottage dwellings, as Hintlesham old Hall; while others, again, more fortunately, have been carefully restored and furnished as far as possible in the original style, as Otley Hall. But in whatever condition we find them, there is still a charm about them which even the march of time cannot destroy.

THE ABBEY OF ST. EDMUNDS AND ITS CUSTOMARY

By Rev. Dr. Chas. Cox, F.S.A.

THERE is an extraordinary wealth of manuscript material in connection with the history and administration of the great Benedictine Abbey of St. Edmunds, the special glory of pre-Reformation Suffolk. Some of this has been set forth in the three volumes of the Rolls Series, edited by Thomas Arnold, which appeared in 1890-6, under the title *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, but there is more which has as yet been imperfectly analysed or practically ignored.

These manuscripts are chiefly to be found among the splendid stores of the British Museum, where there are twenty-one separate registers, chartularies, or annals of the abbey of various dates. In the Cambridge University Library there are six registers of the abbey and its lands, which formerly belonged to the family of Bacon, to whom much of the monastic property was granted after the Dissolution. At the Public Record Office, in Chancery Lane, there is a valuable *Registrum Cellarii*, containing pleas of Edward I. and II., and at Barton Hall, Suffolk, is the second part of an alphabetical chartulary of the cellarer's property, the first part of which is in the Cambridge University Library. A short but valuable manuscript of this monastery is now in

France; this is the *Liber Cenobii S. Edmundi*, in the Public Library at Douai. Dr. Montague James was the first to draw attention to this register, which he has described in his admirable treatise, *Library and Church of St. Edmund's*, printed by the Cambridge Antiquarian Society in 1895. This register contains an interesting list of benefactors and the rules of the *Officium Coquinarie*. The largest, however, of all these register books of St. Edmunds, which is at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, yet remains to be mentioned. It is a great codex of 898 pages, in late fourteenth century hands. A note at the beginning styles it *Liber Monachorum Sancti Edmundi*, and gives the year 1377 as the date of its beginning. The main contents are a very full life of St. Edmund, and an account of the discipline for regulating the lives of the novices of this house. Excerpts are given in Arnold's *Memorials*.

Strangely enough, one of the most remarkable and the earliest of all these extant registers of St. Edmunds has hitherto escaped all but the most transient notice. But before more particular attention is given to that customary, it may be well to mention, in the briefest possible terms, a few of the more salient facts as to the abbey which, for several centuries, ruled over a third of the county of Suffolk, and was a considerable power throughout the whole of East Anglia.

St. Edmund, the royal martyr, was done to death by the Danes on November 20th, 870. His relics were removed to Beodricsworth, which afterwards took the name of Bury St. Edmunds, about the year 903. A charter of lands round the town was granted by Edmund II. in 945 to the clerks guarding the shrine. In 1020 these clerks were removed, and a score of Benedictine monks from Hulme St. Benet, headed by Uvius, prior of Hulme, were installed in their place. Shortly afterwards Uvius was consecrated first abbot of Bury by the Bishop of London, and a new stone church

was begun by order of Canute. According to Canute's Charter of 1028, papally confirmed, the abbey was to be for ever free from episcopal jurisdiction. In 1030 the body of the saint was removed to Canute's new church. Edward the Confessor visited Bury in 1044, and granted the abbey full temporal jurisdiction over eight-and-a-half hundreds of Suffolk, namely, those of Thingoe, Thedwastre, Blackbourn, Bradbourne, Bradmere, Lackford, Risbridge, and Babergh, with the half hundred of Cosford. A mint was established at Bury in 1065; it is in this grant of the Confessor that the old name of Beodricsworth first gives way to that of St. Edmundsbury. The body of St. Edmund was translated on April 29th, 1095, to a new and magnificent basilica. Henry I. made a pilgrimage to the shrine in 1132. Sampson, the tenth and most illustrious of the abbots, ruled over the house from 1182 to 1211. King John in 1214 made a speech in the chapter-house, asserting his rights over the election of an abbot, but he was overruled. There was a serious conflict between the abbey and the town in 1264, and again in 1292. These riots were renewed after a yet graver fashion in 1327. Richard II. was entertained at the monastery in 1383. Henry VI. was at the abbey in 1433-4, remaining there from Christmas till St. George's Day. The great church of the abbey was gutted by fire in 1465, but the shrine of St. Edmund was spared. Henry VII. visited Bury in 1486. Mary Tudor, sister of Henry VIII., was buried in the abbey church in great state on July 21st, 1533.

On November 5th, 1535, the abbey was visited by the profligate tools of Henry VIII. and Cromwell as a preliminary to the dissolution of the monasteries. In September, 1538, the king's spoliation agents reported to Cromwell that they had taken above 5,000 marks' worth of gold and silver, and defaced the shrine. In this and the following year the abbey was stripped of 1,553 oz. of gold plate and 10,433 oz. of silver plate. The

so-called "deed of surrender" was signed by the abbot, the prior, and forty-one other monks on November 4th, 1539.[1]

Ex-abbot Reeve, weighed down with sorrow at the complete degradation of his Order, died on March 31st, 1540, in a small private house at the top of Crown Street, Bury St. Edmunds.

The ecclesiastical patronage of the abbey was very large, chiefly in the eight-and-a-half hundreds under their rule. In the days of Abbot Samson, thirty-four churches were in the gift of the abbot, and thirty-two in the gift of the convent, or whole chapter.

It has been stated by several Suffolk and other writers that Bury St. Edmunds was by far the wealthiest Benedictine abbey in England. Great, however, as was its income, such an assertion is erroneous. This abbey came fifth in the list of the annual incomes of the establishments of Black Monks, according to the *Valor* of 1535. The following are the incomes of the eight houses exceeding £2,000 a year:

	£	s.	d.
Westminster	3,977	6	4¾
Glastonbury	3,508	13	4¼
St. Albans	2,510	6	1¾
Canterbury (Christ Church) ...	2,489	4	9
St. Edmunds	2,336	16	11
Reading	2,116	3	9¾
York	2,085	1	5¼
Abingdon	2,042	2	8¾

In one most praiseworthy particular St. Edmunds was well at the head of the list, namely, in the proportionate income devoted to the poor. In this case there was a total of £398 15s. 11½d. a year actually reserved by grant or charter for distribution to the poor. This sum,

[1] Those who wish to see a good outline of the story of the abbey will find it in an appendix to the delightful edition of *The Chronicle of Jocelin*, by Sir Ernest Clarke, published in 1903.

Norman Tower, Bury St. Edmunds.

it should be remembered, was the amount that the monks were compelled to distribute, even under the laxest administration. In addition to this there was the daily distribution of broken meat, the occasional dole of old clothes, the regular visits of relief made by the almoner and his assistants to the sick and needy of the district at their own homes, the long-sustained alms at the death of a monk, the Christmas gifts, and, above all, the entertainment of all comers in the guest-houses and hospitals, from royalty to the poorest tramp.

The abbey, from the time of its foundation down to the Dissolution, keenly and successfully maintained its privilege of exemption, not only from diocesan visitation, but from the supervision of the archbishop of the province. It held itself only responsible to the Pope direct or a papal legate. When Archbishop Arundel was visiting East Anglia in 1400 he was received in the Abbey of St. Edmunds, but every precaution was taken to show that he was only admitted as an honoured guest, and in no sense as a "visitor."

It must not, however, be imagined that St. Edmunds, or any other of the few powerful "exempt" Benedictine houses, were free from any kind of visitation because they were exempt from diocesan and archiepiscopal visitation. This is a common and bad mistake of even well-educated writers on the monastic systems of the past. The fact is that St. Edmunds was just as much subject to the general provincial chapter of the Benedictines as the humblest priory of the Order. The general chapter met every three years, and one of its chief duties was the appointment of visitors. The registers of St. Edmunds contain various references to the periodical examinations undertaken by these official visitors. Thus in 1393, on the Feast of St. Barnabas, this abbey was "visited" by the Abbot of Hulme St. Benet, who had been appointed for that purpose by the general chapter. He did not visit in person, but deputed

his visitorial powers on this occasion to the prior and to another learned monk of his house (*quendam alium scolare*).

It is interesting, too, to note that a distinguished fourteenth century Superior of St. Edmunds, Abbot Curteys (1429-46), was himself appointed visitor—by the general chapter of the Order held at Northampton in 1431—of all the Benedictine houses of East Anglia, and in the following year Abbot Curteys gave formal notice of holding visitations at such important houses as the abbeys of Hulme, Colchester, and Thorney, and even of the cathedral priories of Norwich and Ely. These visitations were not carried out in person, for the abbot commissioned two of his fellow-monks—John Craneways and Thomas Derham—to represent him. It must have been singularly trying, as the present writer has elsewhere remarked, to the Bishop of Norwich, between whom and the Abbot of St. Edmunds an almost permanently jealous feud existed, to find his rival holding a visitation of the cathedral priory at the very gates of his palace.

Among the several special privileges of this great abbey, the powers conferred upon the abbot of bestowing minor orders on those of his own house must not be forgotten, as well as the still rarer right to call in any bishop of the Catholic Church to admit monks to the higher orders within the abbey precincts. Thus, in 1401, Bishop Thomas Aladensis (of the Irish diocese of Killala) held two ordinations of monks of St. Edmunds to the priesthood and diaconate in the church of St. Mary within the precincts. Moreover, the abbot's authority went much further than this—in a way that we believe to be unprecedented, at all events in England—for he was empowered to commission the ordaining, through his own letters dimissory, of any fit candidate for Holy Orders within the limits of St. Edmunds, embracing a third of the county, whether such candidates were "religious" or

"secular." Thus in 1410, and again in 1419, Abbot William commissioned John, Archbishop of Smyrna (who was then acting as a suffragan in Norwich diocese), through letters dimissory by papal indult of privilege, to ordain several priests not connected with the monastery. The register of Abbot Curteys (1429-1446) has several entries to a like effect.

The particular register to which the remainder of this paper is chiefly devoted throws considerable light on the internal administration of the abbey in the days of Edward I., towards the end of the rule of Abbot John Norwold.

This register, which is No. 3977 of the Harleian collection of the British Museum, was compiled, as is clear from internal evidence, about the year 1300, though there are a few later additions. It is, in the main, a *Liber Consuetudinarius*, or customary of the abbey, but it includes various transcripts of charters and grants, and there are also a few folios of general chronicles. The brief headings of the different sections—sixty-nine in number—are set forth in the enlarged edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon* (iii., 124-5).

Two other registers contribute to the forming of a regular customary of St. Edmunds. One of these, a thick vellum quarto of about 300 folios, termed the *Liber Albus* (Harl. MSS., 1005), has many interpolations among its miscellaneous contents relative to the details and working of the abbey life and administration, chiefly of late thirteenth century date; there are many rentals and manorial accounts of the year 1282. The other register, known as *Registrum Kempe* (Harl. MSS., 645), though extending into the fifteenth century, contains much information as to rents and provisions of the abbey in the contemporary hands of the thirteenth century; it includes details of the expenditure of the sacrist and other obedientiaries and officials for the year 1262.

From these three old registers a remarkably complete

and interesting customary might be compiled, but it would require at least two volumes of the size of this book to do it with the thoroughness that it merits.

In some respects a full customary of this abbey would correspond to those of two other great Benedictine houses—St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and St. Peter's, Westminster—which have been recently (1902-4) edited by Sir E. Maunde Thompson for the Henry Bradshaw Society. The points of difference and of likeness are well worthy of the attention of monastic students, but in the case of St. Edmunds a variety of curious and interesting details occur which do not find a place in mere customaries proper.

The first section of the *Liber Consuetudinarius* deals with the reception of novices and the manner of their profession. This elaborate memorial is practically the same as that set forth for St. Augustine's, together with instructions as to their behaviour in quire, etc., after admission.

After the laying down of certain rules as to the use of the infirmary, the customary proceeds to set out the discipline enjoined on those convicted of a fraud or less serious fault. In the former case, *de gravi culpa*, part of the punishment consisted in the delinquent having to remain seated for the whole day on a stool in the nave of the church, half-way between the rood-screen and the great west doors, with his cowl drawn over his face. When the services of the Hours came round, he was to join in chanting the Psalms, but to remain in the same posture. His only change of position was when any procession of the convent passed through the church, as from quire to chapter-house, or to and from the cloisters for the Hour and Mass, when the offender had to prostrate himself on the pavement. The offender *de levi culpa* had less severe penance. Under the lighter faults were included such breaches of discipline as sleeping in quire or chapter, laughing in quire, being

Interior of the Abbey Gateway, Bury St. Edmunds.

late at meals or duties, showing lack of respect to seniors, giving way to anger, etc. Such an offender had to sit on a low stool in the midst of the chapter-house, between the lectern and the abbot's seat. There he had to remain whenever the convent were assembled in chapter. When in quire and refectory, he had to take the humblest seat, below the novices. A yet lower grade of discipline for more trifling offences, *de minoribus penitentiis*, such as slovenly habits at table or careless recital of the offices, was also set forth. A delinquent of this class had various minor, but not degrading, duties assigned him, such as carrying a lamp or lantern before the convent, and collecting the scraps from the refectory. Severe diet was assigned to the two first classes of offenders, but the third rank of penitents was less rigidly treated; it was permitted to them, if suffering in head or stomach, to drink beer of the second quality, *propter stomachi infirmacionem et capitis debilitatem.*

A list of the household servants within the abbey precincts, drawn up in 1204, names forty-nine in the cellarer's department, including such various grades of service as John the goldsmith, two gardeners, Thomas de Ardene the hall steward, a hall-cleaner, a mower, a pantry boy, five cooks, of whom two, Geoffrey and John, are honoured with the title of Magister, and John Pug who made the sauce.[1] Twenty-four servants, including the mint official, were under the sacrist. Geoffrey the shoemaker, Simon the pelterer, Walter the tailor and his man, Ralph and Job the bathmen, and Robert de Alderly the washerman, were under the chamberlain. The infirmarian had nine servants, the almoner ten, whilst seven were under the guestmaster. The total comes to one hundred and six, but there is here and in other lists no mention of the abbot's household.

Another more detailed list of perhaps a little later

[1] *Johannes Pug qui facit salsamentum.*

date, entered in the *Liber Albus*, brings the total of the household staff up to one hundred and ten. This list is subdivided on a different plan; thus twenty-two are enumerated as serving in the kitchen, and nineteen under the sub-cellarer. In the same place certain details are given as to the stables. In the prior's stable there were five horses belonging to the prior, namely, two for the prior and his chaplain, two for his squires, and a sumpter horse. The cellarer's stable contained four horses, namely, two palfreys for the cellarer and his companion, a sumpter horse, and one cart horse.

The distribution of bread of different kinds to the great household is set forth with much nicety. The total of each day's baking, which the sub-cellarer was bound to supply, amounted to ninety-four loaves, and this irrespective of bread for the abbot's household, for the monks at the refectory tables, for the infirmary, and for the various guest-houses. The bread supplied to the household was of three qualities, termed the monks' bread, the servants' bread, and *biscus panis*. The last of these terms might be rendered biscuit (that is, "twice-baked"); it was, however, no delicacy, but more like ordinary ship-biscuit and of a rough quality.[1] Of the first quality there were daily provided eleven loaves, namely, one each to the tanner, the cellarer's clerk, the chief baker, the scribe, the four chaplains of St. Dionysius, St. John Baptist, St. John the Evangelist, and St. Margaret, together with three Maundy or alms loaves. Of the second quality thirty-eight loaves were baked—one loaf went to the two butchers, and one apiece to the hall steward, the porter of the great gate, each of the two buyers or traders, the cellarer's squire, the cellarer's doorkeeper, the chief stableman, the swineherd, the miller, the woodwarden, the brewer, the abbot's grainerer, the gardener, the embroiderer, the fisherman,

[1] Another Low Latin phrase for rough, warmly-baked bread, intended to last and unfermented, was *ruscus panis*; hence our later term of rusk.

the cheeseman, the chaplain of the Round Chapel, the chaplain of St. Stephen, the hospitaller of St. Peter, the warden of the Great Cross, and the mustarder[1]; eight of these loaves also went to the servants of the bakery, four to the stablemen of the prior, and four to the stablemen of the cellarer.

The thirty-five loaves for the nuns of Thetford, together with ninety-six gallons of beer and a supply of cooked meat, were sent weekly in wagons from the abbey kitchen to the nunnery, a distance of thirteen miles. This cumbersome arrangement, designed by Uvius, the first abbot and founder of the nunnery, was maintained up to 1369, when it was abandoned in favour of corn and money, owing to thieves occasionally seizing the provisions by the way.

Of the biscuit or bread of the third quality twenty-seven loaves were baked daily. Two were allowed to the two traders, two to the two butlers, seven to the tailor's shop, five to the five cooks, and one each to the squire, the servant of the infirmary, the cook of the infirmary, the blood-letter, the parlour warden, the water warden, the servant of the pittancer, the granger, the beadle, the "lurard,"[2] and the "postike."[3]

There was also a further daily distribution of eight loaves to certain of the exterior servants.

The daily allowance of beer supplied by the cellarer to the household (apart from the supply for the monks, the infirmary, and the guest-houses) amounted to eighty-two gallons, whilst ninety-six gallons, as already mentioned, were sent out once a week to the nuns of

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1 The mustarder was an important kitchen servant, for he had to prepare the mustard sauce which was then the invariable accompaniment of all salted food, whether flesh or fish.

2 This word has not been met with elsewhere; possibly it may imply a leather worker; leather thongs were in constant use for a variety of purposes.

3 "Postik" was the pestle for a mortar; "postike" in this list probably implied the one who pounded the peas, beans, spices, etc., for culinary purposes.

Thetford. It is of rather particular interest to note the considerable variety of qualities in the strength or other merits of the monastic beer of St. Edmunds. It was divided into seven kinds:—(1) the beer of the monks of the cellary; (2) the beer of the monks of the refectory; (3) the refectory beer of the second quality; (4) the beer termed "godalepot"; (5) the cellarer's beer of the second quality; (6) the cellarer's beer of the third quality; and (7) the "presteshale." It would be tedious to set forth the exact division of these seven qualities of drink among the different grades of the household servants, but it is some satisfaction to note that the large amount of beer sent weekly by wagon to the good nuns of St. George, of Thetford, was number six, the "smallest" brewed at Bury.

A particularly interesting entry of 1269, entered in the *Registrum Kempe*, gives an estimate of the amount of provisions requisite each week for the sustenance of the eighty monks, the hundred and eleven servants, and the eleven chaplains, as well as the supplies for the nuns of Thetford, and for general hospitality.

The weekly grain required was estimated to be 16½ soams[1] and 2 bushels of wheat, at 5s. a soam; 12½ soams of barley, at 4s.; and 32 soams of oats, at 3s. The weekly wage of the servants of the brewhouse and bakehouse came to 4s. 4½d., whilst the fires in both places cost the large sum of 26s. 8d. The total cost per week came to £23 0s. 9½d., or £678 1s. 2d. for the whole year. In addition to this the grain for the abbot's household came to £11 5s. 9d. a week.

The average weekly expenditure in the kitchen on flesh, fish, eggs, cheese, and lesser items came to £10. During Lent herrings cost £25; 4 soams of "gruell," 32s.; 6 soams of beans, 30s.; honey, 6s. 8d.; nuts, 13s. 4d.;

[1] The *summa*, or soam, of this date seems to have corresponded to the "quarter" or eight bushels, though occasionally in corn measure the soam was ten bushels.

salt, 66s. 8d. Peas for potage, during the whole year, amounted to 52 soams 11 lbs., costing, at 5s. the soam, £42 8s. 8d.

The abbot's kitchen cost £4 15s. 7d. a week, including poultry. The fires of the two kitchens cost £30 during the year. The annual charge for the horses of the prior, the cellarer, and the guestmaster, as well as for those of guests entertained by the abbot, amounted to £60. The cellarer's charge for pittances, clothes, horses (purchasing), etc., came to another £60 per annum.

It therefore follows that the total working expenses at that early date reached the vast sum of £1,407 11s. 2d. a year, which must be multiplied by about twenty to reach the purchasing power of money of the present day.

The pittances of this abbey, or additions to the ordinary meagre fare of the monks in the refectory, in remembrance of particular festivals or obits, are singularly varied and interesting, as set forth in the time of Edward I. A list given in the chief customary enumerates eighty-two. The sturgeon, that kingly fish usually reserved for royalty, graced the monastic table on the Feasts of the Transfiguration, the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, All Saints, and St. Nicholas, as well as on the anniversaries of Richard I. and Abbot Samson. A pittance of wine was provided for the convent at Easter, Ascension, Whitsuntide, Christmas, and at the Feasts of St. John Baptist, St. Peter and Paul, St. Botulph, Reliques, St. Edmund, and the Assumption. On the Feast of Reliques the monks had a choice of wine or of "must," which was unfermented wine.

Thirty-one of these pittances occurred on anniversaries of abbots or other distinguished men and benefactors of their house; the remainder were on Church festivals. In several cases the pittance was so small that only a few could have enjoyed any change from the usual dietary. Thus there was a pittance of only a single mark for the anniversaries of Abbot Edmund and of Isabel, mother

of Abbot Henry. In not a few cases, where the additional food or delicacy is specified, the change was of a comparatively trifling character. Pancakes (*flaones*) and white bread were the additions at the Epiphany, the Purification, the Ascension, and the Feasts of St. John Baptist, St. Peter and Paul, etc. During the octave of Easter, and on Whit-Monday, Michaelmas, Martinmas, the Translation of St. Benedict, etc., onions (*faverells*) were supplied. Apples and pears, as well as pancakes, were placed on the tables on Easter Day, Whitsun Day, Christmas, and the Feast of St. Edmund. "Ringes," which seem to have been round cakes, were furnished on the Transfiguration, the Feasts of Reliques and of St. Thomas, and on the anniversary of Abbot Hugh; and biscuits and wafers on the Feast of St. Nicholas, together with a choice potage of rice and "amigdale," which was the name for a preparation of almonds.

On forty days in the year, including the chief festivals such as Christmas, Circumcision, and Epiphany, the servants of the church had their meals in the refectory.

Extra food and other perquisites were granted to the household servants on the more important festivals. These particulars are set forth in full detail. Thus, to cite only two or three of the entries pertaining to the great day of St. Edmund, the hall steward and the porter on that festival each received six loaves, two simnels (cakes of fine flour), twelve herrings, twelve eels, and a candle, as well as their day's board; the infirmarian, the parlour warden, and the swineherd, each four loaves, one simnel, six herrings, six eels, the day's board, and a candle; whilst the mustarder had to be content with two loaves, three herrings, and three eels, but neither day's food nor candle, as is expressly stated.

Among the many details as to the diet of the monks on special occasions, it is somewhat surprising to learn that a goose's egg was considered a choice delicacy reserved for the queen of Church festivals. On Easter

The Abbey Gateway, Bury St. Edmunds.

Day each monk in convent received one goose's egg, in addition to five hens' eggs, whilst those who were in the infirmary were supplied with a duck's egg and nine hens' eggs. Monks who were outside the convent at Easter (that is, serving in one or other of their several granges) were also to receive a like complement of eggs; but in case there was a deficiency of goose eggs where they happened to be they might have nine hens' eggs; this change was, however, only to be sanctioned where there was a general deficiency of goose eggs.

On the general question of the dietary of the monks, the registers of St. Edmunds abundantly support the proofs obtainable from every other large English monastery whose accounts are extant, that decidedly sparse and simple living was the rule. During Lent eggs were prohibited; the best dish they had, as a relief from red herrings, was one of beans mixed with a little flavouring of honey. Lest the cellarer should be disposed to be too generous with the honey, the amount —when there was the full complement of eighty monks—allowed for the year was limited to nine, or at the outside, ten gallons. The gruel or oatmeal, that formed a staple Lenten dish, was generally served hot, and made with water; when served with milk it was cold.[1]

The amount of wax consumed in lighting the church at the great festivals was very considerable. On the occasion of the Feast of St. Edmund (November 20th) the conventual church must have been a perfect blaze of light. The customary sets forth the exact number of wax tapers, or candles (*cerei*), which the sacrist had at that time to provide. In the first place, four candles, each of four pounds, were to burn round the body of the Blessed Edmund; twenty-four candles, each a pound weight, were to burn in the ambulatory round the shrine;

[1] On the evidence as to the dietary of England's monks, see Cox's *English Monasteries* (Palmer & Son) and Gasquet's *English Monastic Life* (Methuen).

five candles in the candle-stands before the altar, and seven in the great candelabrum, all of four pounds; three one-pound candles before the image of St. Sabas, at the martyrology, and at the cross; seventeen one-pound candles in the seventeen windows of the presbytery; twelve of a pound each in the great tower; on each side of the great rood twenty-six candles of a pound each; in the nave of the church twenty-four of a pound each. Also, if the abbot was present, two candles of a pound each on all the fourteen altars (of the nave). The lady altar was specially illumined at the patronal festival, for, in addition to five candles, each of two pounds, the gift of John Fitz Luce, the sacrist provided seven of like weight. In the vestry four candles burnt, of the combined weight of ten pounds; and in the refectory were twenty candles, each of one pound. Two others of similar weight likewise burnt in the chapter-house. The total weight of wax consumed at this festival was 260 pounds.

The wax used at Christmas for lights amounted to 183 pounds; at the Purification, 160 pounds; and at Easter, Whitsuntide, and the Assumption, 183 pounds. At Easter, in addition to the amount just named, there was the enormous amount of 160 pounds used in making the great Paschal candle. The great churches of England were celebrated for the size of the gigantic Paschal candle, which sometimes had to be lighted from a special aperture in the roof. At this date it is not unlikely that the one at St. Edmunds was the largest yet known. In 1457 the Paschal candles of the Benedictine churches of Westminster and Canterbury each weighed 300 pounds.

The refectory was specially lighted with twenty candles on the festivals of Michaelmas and Christmas, as well as on November 20th. The refectory had its own altar, doubtless within a screen or parclose. For this altar, from Candlemas to Michaelmas, the sacrist had to

provide two wax candles, whenever required, for Low Mass (*ad parvam missam*).

The closer these records are studied, the more are they found to uphold the general good character and faithful administration of the monks of St. Edmunds. Those who are the modern slanderers of the monks are either men of violent prejudice or of limited and insufficient reading. Mr. Arnold, after a closer investigation of the annals of St. Edmunds than anyone else has attempted, states that during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries "nothing from any quarter turns up to their discredit." Leigh and Ap. Rice's *Comperta* of 1534 are in reality strongly confirmatory of this favourable judgment; these common slanderers found nothing but a little dirty gossip to transmit from Bury to Cromwell. They could get no evidence, even by way of alleged confession, much to their annoyance; and on such evidence as these foul-lived men at times produced, no one nowadays—as the last American monastic student has written—"would dare even to hang a dog."

Broadly speaking, the Benedictines of St. Edmunds were well discharging their religious and social duties at the time of their forcible dispersion.

FRAMLINGHAM CASTLE

IN ITS RELATION TO GENERAL HISTORY

By Francis Seymour Stevenson

AMONG the edifices erected in Suffolk for other than sacred purposes, Framlingham Castle is entitled to the foremost place by reason of the beauty and dignity of its proportions, and the wealth of its historical associations. There are, indeed, few buildings in England the appearance of which conveys a more vivid impression of bygone greatness. Seen from without—more especially from beyond the wide expanse once occupied by the great mere, which served at once as a defence and as an ornament to the western outworks—its massive walls, crowned with their diadem of embattled towers, stand forth as if ready at any moment to awake again to the sights and sounds of mediæval life and strife. From other points of view the castle appears less instinct with potential activity, but the uses of particular portions of the structure become more vividly impressed on the spectator's mind. From the east can best be discerned the simple yet effective arrangement of the two deep moats, communicating with each other and with the mere, and surrounding a wide bailey of crescent shape, now called the pound-field, which must have been capable of sheltering a considerable number of men, whilst an outer trench, called the town ditch, some distance from the outer moat, may have provided a first line of defence. To the north some notion can

be obtained of the configuration of the area, now under cultivation, but at one time covered with forests, which extends in that direction as well as towards the west, and a portion of which, about three miles in circumference, was converted into a deer park whilst the Bigods still held Framlingham, and included within its limits the source of the Ore, which rises near a farm still known as Countess Well, and also two lodges, one of which was used in the days of the Mowbrays—in the fifteenth century—as an occasional residence, the sterner purposes for which the castle was originally constructed being thus combined, at any rate during the last few centuries of its existence, before it was allowed to fall into decay, with sundry amenities, to which the chase, the mere, the fishponds near the western barbicans, and the "pleasaunce" between the moats, contributed their share. On the south side, on which the castle is approached from the town, the half-moon, the drawbridge, and the portcullis have disappeared, but a solid brick bridge leads to the great gateway, on the arch of which are displayed the arms of Brotherton, Mowbray, Warren, Segrave, Brews, and Howard.

As soon as the gateway is entered, the extent of the ruin wrought by time and by the hand of man becomes apparent, and the walls, about forty-four feet in height, and the thirteen towers, of which twelve retain their outward shape comparatively intact, are seen to form a mere shell surrounding a space rather more than an acre and a quarter in area. None of the buildings it once contained have survived the destruction effected in the middle of the seventeenth century, under the provisions of Sir Robert Hitcham's will, with the exception of a portion of the structure on the left, erected in the first half of the eighteenth century on the site of the old dining hall and kitchen, out of mural fragments and other materials found there, and used first as a poor-house, and now as a public hall.

Camden, who was in Suffolk in 1578 and 1582, and wrote when these buildings still stood, though they had ceased to serve the objects of habitual residence, speaks of "this most beautiful castle, fortified with a rampart, ditch, and very thick wall, in which are thirteen towers, and furnished with very convenient apartments within." Henry Sampson, fellow of Pembroke Hall, who held the rectory of Framlingham, though not ordained, from 1650 to 1660, in the interval between the sequestration and the restoration of Richard Goultie, who had refused the "engagement," and consequently at the very time of the demolition mentioned in the surveyor's accounts for 1656, writes in 1663 that "this castle was inwardly furnished with buildings very commodious and necessary, able to receive and entertain many"; and Leverland, a clerk in the Heralds' Office, who became first master of Sir Robert Hitcham's school at Framlingham about the same time, adds that "between the hall and the chapel, fronting the great gate of the castle, was a large chamber, with several rooms and a cloister under it." The chapel—hung, in the reign of Henry VIII., with cloth of arras, representing Christ's Passion[1]—adjoined the eastern watch tower, and the "large chamber" is doubtless the one to which reference is made in the will of Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk of that line, dated May, 1520, who bequeathed to his son "our hanging of the story of Hercules, made for our great chamber at Framlingham." The range of buildings must have extended across from east to west, so as to separate the principal court from the stable yard, situated at the northern extremity. Whilst the greater part of what now remains of the castle was doubtless built shortly after the demolition of the previous castle, in the reign of Henry II., mentioned in the Pipe Rolls for 1175 and 1176, sundry repairs and improvements

[1] MS. quoted by Hawes, p. 8.

Framlingham Castle.

were effected in the following centuries, the feudal stronghold being gradually converted into a fortified palace, and some portions, such as the gate tower and the wreathed chimneys, do not date further back than the reign of Henry VII.

The question suggests itself at this point whether the castle which was pulled down in and about 1175 was of Norman or pre-Norman origin. There is no intrinsic improbability in the traditions that a Roman *castrum* and a Saxon *burh* may have occupied the site, but no remains have so far been found to indicate the former, and there is no historic evidence in support of the latter; whilst the alleged construction by Redwald, whom William of Malmesbury describes as the greatest of the East Anglian kings, and whose court was at Rendlesham, rests not even upon tradition, but merely upon conjecture. The Teutonic termination of the name shows that the settlement must have been in existence before the Danish invasion, but it would be rash to draw a more precise inference from its etymology; though it may be pointed out that it is more likely to have been connected with *fram*, strong, and to have meant the "ham," or home, or manor, of strength, or of the strong, than to have been derived from Fromus, said by Reyce to have been the old name for the Ore, or from *fremdling*, strangers, or from a chieftain whom le Neve calls Frame. The legends connecting St. Edmund with Framlingham Castle appear to be of late date, and it is possible that they may have no better authority than a marginal note to the *Flores Historiarum* of "Matthew of Westminster," which identifies with it the castle in which St. Edmund is said, by popular tradition[1] and in sundry chronicles,[2] to have been besieged by the heathen Danes under Inguar and Hubba, on which

1 "Relatione plebis."

2 Bodl. MS. 240, given in Ld. Francis Hervey's *Corolla Sancti Edmundi*. See pp. 390-2.

occasion a blind and decrepit man, whose name Leland gives as Sathonius, doubtless, as Lord Francis Hervey has shown, on account of his having misread the word *latomus*, stonemason,[1] is stated to have been bribed to betray a weak part of the walls, which he had helped to build; and it is added that, when the Danes succeeded in forcing an entrance, the king galloped out through the gates, diverting the attention of those who confronted him by shouting "Go back as fast as you can, for when I was in the castle, the king whom you seek was there also," and subsequently reorganising his forces, he drove out the enemy. Possibly the legend itself may be as unauthenticated as the alleged connection with Framlingham, but, if based on actual fact, it would indicate that the walls, or palisades, of the former castle had been constructed in the ninth century, and thus dispose of the Redwald conjecture. The question whether the spot where St. Edmund suffered martyrdom in 870 is to be identified with Hoxne, as is asserted by Bishop Herbert of Losinga's charter of 1101, and by the practically unanimous voice of mediæval tradition, or, as is urged by Lord Francis Hervey in his notes to Reyce's *Breviary* and in his *Corolla Sancti Edmundi*, with the Halgestou of Domesday, situated in the Wilford hundred, does not necessarily affect the possibility that Framlingham may have served as a centre of military operations in one of the campaigns against the invaders, either in 870 or in one of the previous years, especially in the event of two Danish forces having advanced, one from Thetford and one from Orford, as a reconstruction of the events of those years appears to render probable.[2]

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1 *Corolla Sancti Edmundi*, Introd., p. 37.

2 *Ibid.*, Introd., p. 50. With regard to the site of the martyrdom, there is nothing in Archdeacon Herman's treatise which militates against the Hoxne view, except his reference to Suthtune (Sutton) as the original place of burial; and if Robert Reyce in the seventeenth century calls Stuston (near Hoxne) Sutton, Archdeacon Herman, about the end of the eleventh century, may well have made a similar verbal mistake,

The destruction caused by the Danish raids in East Anglia was of so sweeping a nature, and the times were marked by such confusion, that no surprise need be felt at the disappearance of the castle or fortified enclosure, if it existed, or at the absence of all records or other materials relating to the matter. Possibly some sort of fortification may have taken its place as the tide of Danish conquest was rolled back, but of this there is no evidence. Domesday Book tells us of the rights possessed in Framlingham in the days of Edward the Confessor by Aylmar the Thane, Edric of Laxfield, Brightmar, and others, and how those rights had passed into other hands after the Conquest; it mentions the church at Framlingham, the manors, the number and occupations of the inhabitants, the acreage of the plough lands, meadows, and woods; the figures relating to cattle, sheep, pigs, goats, and bees; and the value of the land, comparing what was at the time of the Confessor with what was at the time of the Great Survey, but in all this there is nothing about a castle. Is the silence of Domesday to be accepted as conclusive of the non-existence of Framlingham Castle at that date? If so, the same argument would apply to Clare, Haughley, Ipswich, Burgh; in fact, to all the castles in Suffolk, with the exception of Eye, a view in favour of which might be quoted the testimony of Orderic to the lack of castles and the generally defenceless state of England at the time of the Conquest, but which runs counter to some of the local evidence relating to certain of those castles. A possible explanation is that whilst Eye Castle was held by William Malet, Framlingham Castle was held by the Conqueror himself; but, if so,

especially as this may have been one of the facts which, as he himself says, he culled from "a document written in a different and, so to speak, an adamantine hand by an unknown writer." See *Corolla Sancti Edmundi*, pp. 92, 93. Mr. Redstone's identification of Suthtune with Suddon, some miles from Eye, would further strengthen the traditional Hoxne view.

why was not such entry inserted as is to be found with regard to Clifford, in Herefordshire, or to Stafford?[1] The answer is that a very large number of castles built by, or on behalf of, William I., who "surpassed all his predecessors in the construction of castles," are not enumerated in Domesday, even Dover and Nottingham being left out. The probability is, therefore, that if a fortification of some kind existed at Framlingham at the time of the Conquest, it was strengthened and perhaps reconstructed, either in whole or in part, at some date between 1066 and the grant of the castle by Henry I. to Roger Bigod in 1101, and the silence of Domesday does not prove that the date may not have been before 1086. The most likely time would be about the year 1069, when Sweyn's raids on Ipswich and Norwich caused the defences of East Anglia to be put into proper order for the purpose of meeting the attempt at Harold's restoration.

At the time of the Domesday Survey Roger Bigod, whose family was to be so intimately associated with Framlingham for more than two centuries, and who then held no fewer than 117 manors in Suffolk, was not a tenant-in-chief in respect of Framlingham, but merely the holder of nine carucates, or ploughlands, for a manor forming part, at any rate nominally, of the lands of Hugh of Avranches, Earl of Chester. A considerable portion of his great possessions had been conferred upon him soon after the confiscation of the estates of Ralph Wader, Earl of Norfolk, following upon the suppression of his rebellion, which, if successful, would have helped to split England into independent earldoms. The etymology of the name of Bigod is as perplexing as that of Framlingham, and one is driven, almost in despair, to Michel's hypothesis that "bigoth" or "bigod,"

1 Clifford: "Illud castellum est de regno Angliæ. Non subjacet alicui hundred, neque in consuetudine." Stafford (248b): "Terra de Stadford, in qua Rex præcepit fieri castellum."

the term partly of abuse and partly of respect—of abuse for their ferocity, of respect for their prowess—applied to the Normans by their French-speaking neighbours and subjects, as shown in Wace's *Roman de Rou*, may have been originally a corruption of "Visigoth." Certain it is that the oath, "Ne se by God," stated to have been uttered by Rolfe in the presence of Charles the Simple in the *lingua anglicana*, a language which probably neither Charles nor Rolfe understood, cannot be regarded as the true explanation. The epitaph applied to the Normans generally became the surname of one particular Norman family. Of Robert the Bigod, a knight in the service of Count William of Mortain in the early days of William the Conqueror, Freeman writes: "The sons of Robert the Bigod were to rule where Harold now held his earldom, and one remote descendant was to win a place in English history worthy of Harold himself, as the man who wrested the freedom of England from the greatest of England's later kings."

That Roger Bigod was a personage of importance in Suffolk even before the date of Domesday is shown by the reference to him in Archdeacon Herman's treatise on the *Miracles of St. Edmund* as one of the *primores regis qui dictante justitia in eadem villa regia tenebunt placita*, and witnessed Bishop Herfast's renunciation of his claims to jurisdiction over St. Edmunds Bury, clearly before 1081,[1] and it is also possible, if a very difficult passage in Domesday is rightly interpreted, that an amicable arrangement was arrived at between Earl Hugh and Roger Bigod with regard to their respective rights,[2] thus suggesting a plausible explanation of the absence

1 *Memorials of St. Edmunds Abbey*, ed. Arnold, i., 62.

2 Ashfield (Asfelda), "*Hunc invenerunt Barones Regis in pace inter Rogerum Bigot et Hugonem Comitem quando venerunt in comitatum*," etc.; *i.e.*, they found that the priest (Saurin) was included in the *pax* between the Earl and Roger Bigod. A different rendering is given, however, by Lord John Hervey.

of Earl Hugh's name from subsequent mention in connection with Framlingham when the details of the arrangement had been worked out. Roger Bigod was a prime mover of the baronial insurrection of 1088, "leaping," as the *Peterborough Chronicle* put it, "into the castle of Norwich, and doing yet the worst of all over all the land." Yet, a few months earlier, in all probability, he had been one of the witnesses of a charter of William II. to Battle Abbey,[1] and a few months later, in the autumn of 1088, we find him playing a prominent part at the meeting at Salisbury, and advising the king that the charges against William of St. Calais, Bishop of Durham, should be brought in due form—a suggestion which was at once carried out.[2] His speech, as recorded, is the speech of a man who knew his own mind, and expressed his thoughts clearly and cogently. He was also at one time steward, or *dapifer*, to the king. He was one of the earliest and most prominent supporters of Henry I. on his accession, and was one of the four barons who, together with the Bishops of London and Rochester, the Bishop-elect of Winchester, and the Earls of Warwick and Northampton, attested the charter in which Henry promised to maintain the privileges of the Church, the vassals, and the nation as a whole, and to remedy certain of their grievances. At a time when nearly all the great feudatories were plotting in favour of Duke Robert, the support of one who already wielded so powerful an influence in East Anglia must have been of special value to Henry, who, besides confirming him in his previous dignities, granted to him, presumably in 1101,[3] the castle of Framlingham, which became thenceforward the principal seat and stronghold of his house. The forfeiture of Robert Malet's 221 manors in

1 Cotton MS., Aug. ii., 53, printed among the British Museum facsimiles. Probable date, 1087.

2 Freeman, *William Rufus*, i., 98. *Mon. Anglicana*, i., 247.

3 Dugdale's *Baronage*, i., p. 132, quotes Matthew Paris, an. 1100, p. 56. n. 30.

Suffolk in that year removed the only formidable rival to his local ascendency, and a large proportion of the forfeited estates passed into his hands. Roger Bigod died in 1107. Weever quotes the epitaph on his tomb in the priory founded by him at Thetford; it mentions his wealth, blood, eloquence, and enjoyment of royal favour, as well as his piety, virtue, and wisdom.

William, his eldest son, was drowned in the White Ship in 1120, together with the heir to the throne, and was succeeded in his dignities and possessions by his younger brother Hugh, whose turbulent career is connected with some of the most eventful episodes of the twelfth century. It was Hugh Bigod, after Henry I.'s death in 1135, who testified that the late king had released the vassals from their oath to uphold the succession of the Empress Matilda. There is some controversy as to the precise nature of Bigod's evidence. It is doubtful whether he attributed to Henry a declaration disinheriting the empress and appointing Stephen his heir, as Ralph de Diceto affirms, or whether he merely stated that Henry wished the question of the succession to be treated as open, without reference to any engagement previously entered upon by the feudatories.[1] Robert of Gloucester, in his speech before the battle of Lincoln, in 1141, as given by Henry of Huntingdon, said that Earl Hugh—for Hugh Bigod had by that time been created by Stephen Earl of the East Angles—had perjured himself twice, and considered fraud to be a virtue, and perjury to be a fine art.[2] And Ulger, Bishop of Angers, who represented Matilda's interests during the appeal to Rome, denied that Hugh Bigod had been present at Henry's death-bed.[3] In the absence of statements giving Hugh Bigod's point

1 See Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 8.
2 *Henry of Huntingdon*, p. 170.
3 *Historia Pontificalis* (ed. Pertz), pp. 543 *seq.* See Rössler, *Kaiserin Mathilde*, pp. 135, 161.

of view, perhaps the best answer to these *ex parte* allegations is to be found in the fact that both Stephen and Matilda welcomed him at various times to their respective courts, and that, as will be seen, Archbishop Theobald and three of the leading bishops were his guests a few years later at Framlingham Castle.

During the anarchy, indeed, Hugh Bigod was thoroughly in his element, changing sides with unscrupulous opportunism with the object of strengthening his own position. In .1136 he witnessed, as *dapifer*, or steward, Stephen's Charter of Liberties at Oxford,[1] but, on hearing a rumour that Stephen was dead, he seized Norwich Castle, but was compelled to surrender it, and was reconciled for a time to the king. In 1140 we find him holding Bungay unsuccessfully against Stephen, either in Matilda's interest or, more probably, in his own. Then came a further reconciliation with Stephen,[2] with the result that shortly afterwards Hugh Bigod was created by him Earl of the East Angles. The precise date is uncertain, but, as Mr. Round points out:

"if, as would seem, Hugh Bigod appears first as an earl at the battle of Lincoln, when he fought on Stephen's side, it may well be that the *concordia* between them in August, 1140, similarly comprised the concession by the King of comital rank. On the other hand, there is a noteworthy charter of Stephen (*Harl. Cartae*, 43, c. 13), which seems to belong to the winter of 1140-1, to which Hugh Bigod is witness, not as earl, so that his creation may have taken place very shortly before Stephen's fall."[3]

Later on we find him witnessing a charter at Matilda's court under the name of Hugh, Earl of Norfolk,[4] a title which, like that of Earl of the East Angles, included alike then and until the fourteenth century both Norfolk and Suffolk, and intriguing with her in 1142 and the following year through Geoffrey de Mandeville, the

1 Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 23, 24, 263.
2 *Ann. Monastici* (Waverley), ii., 228.
3 *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 50.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 172.

powerful Earl of Essex. According to the *Gesta Stephani*, Stephen in 1142 succeeded in defeating Bigod's troops and ravaging his lands, besides building three castles in that country for the purpose of warding off his regular raids; but it is impossible to fix the topography with any degree of precision, and the narrative may be due to a confusion with the events of 1139. How far these twists and turns were the result of momentary impulse, how far they represented a settled determination to secure by arms and diplomacy the immunity of his earldom from external control, it is difficult to judge, but the next episode of importance in his career, and in the history of Framlingham Castle, exhibits a wider view of what was best for the country as a whole.

Archbishop Theobald's visit to Earl Hugh at Framlingham Castle marks an important landmark in the development of the policy which led ultimately to the rally of the conflicting forces round Henry II., and the close of the anarchy, as well as of the Norman period. It ended the quarrel between Stephen and Theobald, the ostensible cause of which had been the king's refusal to allow him to attend the Council of Rheims in the spring of 1148, and enabled the archbishop to discuss with those whom he met the basis of subsequent action. The visit must have taken place towards the end of September or in October of 1148, as it was on September 5th that the archbishop consecrated Gilbert Foliot at St. Omer to the See of Hereford.[1] Then, taking ship at Gravelines, he landed with his retinue, after a fair voyage, at a place called Goseford in Hugh Bigod's territory. The earl received him with zealous hospitality. When the date which he had previously fixed arrived, Theobald pronounced an interdict on the land

[1] *Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. Stubbs, i., 136.

which was subject to Stephen,[1] and did not withdraw the sentence until Robert de Sigillo, Bishop of London, Hilary, Bishop of Chichester, William de Turbe, Bishop of Norwich, and many nobles had joined him at the earl's castle at Framlingham, whence they conducted him (after peace had been made between him and the king) with gladness and honour to Canterbury, certainly before November 11th.[2] The size of the gathering shows that the castle must, even then, have been "able to receive and entertain many," and the personality of the guests brought together under one roof presents some curious features. Here was the archbishop, harassed in his goods and person by the king because he had attended the Council of Rheims, and wielding ecclesiastical weapons in self-defence; here was the Bishop of Chichester under sentence by the Pope for not having attended the selfsame council, and not absolved until the following November; here was the Bishop of Norwich, who, eighteen years later, published in Norwich Cathedral the excommunication of his former host, Hugh Bigod, on account of his treatment of Pentney Priory; and here was the Bishop of London, Robert de Sigillo, who may have recalled to the earl the calmer days when they had met at the Northampton Council of 1131 under Henry I.[3] Additional interest would be added to the occasion if we could say that John of Salisbury, whom St. Bernard of Clairvaux had introduced to Theobald at Rheims, and who was to become his private secretary, had accompanied the archbishop to Framlingham, but of this

1 In the *Ann. Wintonienses cum continuatione St. Augustini Cant.* (in Liebermann's *Anglo-Normannische Geschichtsquellen*, p. 81) only part of the king's land is said to have been subjected to an interdict. The reference to Goseford is also omitted. Gosford and Orwell are coupled together as ports in the Dunwich Inquisition of 1236, quoted in Gardner's *Dunwich*, p. 115, and on p. 43 of Green's *Framlingham*. The encroachments of the sea increase the difficulty of identification, but it must have been at or near the mouth of the Deben. See *Vict. C. Hist. Suffolk*, ii., 201.

2 Gervase, p. 138.

3 *Sarum Registers*, p. 7.

there is no evidence.[1] Perhaps if he had been present the *Historia Pontificalis* would have spoken of Hugh Bigod in kindlier terms. There can be little doubt that the interchange of views between Bigod and the leading Churchmen, of whom Theobald, Robert de Sigillo, and probably William Turbe were friendly to Matilda's cause, though she was now abroad and in the background, whilst Hilary was a partizan of Stephen, had some reference to the proposed landing of Henry of Anjou in the spring of the following year—a landing which, as Gervase of Canterbury remarks, was regarded by the "earls of England" as a condition precedent to their turning against Stephen—and prepared the way for the general settlement of the kingdom embodied a few years later in the treaties of Wallingford and Winchester. Other indications of the effect of the understanding are to be found in the subsequent refusal of the bishops, headed by Theobald, to consider the suggestion that Eustace should be associated with Stephen in the Government, and in the decision of Ipswich, which was under Bigod's control, to support Henry in 1153. In other words, those who met at Framlingham in the autumn of 1148 looked thenceforward to the candidature of Henry of Anjou as the best method of reconciling conflicting interests and eliminating incompatible rivalries.

The death of Stephen in 1154 marks the end of one of the most miserable periods in English history. Henry II., subsequently to his coronation,[2] confirmed in 1155 Hugh Bigod in his earldom of Norfolk, the term Norfolk including Suffolk as well as Norfolk. He also granted him the third penny of the pleas of Norwich

[1] Yet in 1159 John of Salisbury speaks of having been "nearly twelve years employed in the business of the Archbishop's court," *i.e.*, *nugæ curiales* (Policraticus, prol., p. 3). St. Bernard (letter 361, ed. Mabillon) says: "*Præsens vobis commendaveram eum*," clearly at Rheims in the spring of 1148. It is quite possible, therefore, that John of Salisbury may have accompanied Theobald immediately after the council. See Poole's *Mediæval Thought*, p. 213.

[2] Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 277, 288.

and Norfolk—that is, again, of both counties—a privilege which, as Mr. Round has shown from an examination of the Pipe Rolls from the second to the seventeenth year of Henry II., was not possessed by every earl, but only by seven out of the seventeen then in existence.[1] There is no evidence that Bigod had constructed in Suffolk any of the unlicensed castles, or *castella adulterina*, which, according to Robert de Monte, numbered 375, as compared with 1,115 given by Ralph de Diceto, and which had become such a curse to the land during the anarchy, and were to be demolished; and he was probably strong enough to prevent their erection by others within his sphere of influence, with the possible exception of the three mentioned in the *Gesta Stephani*. He was, however, called upon to surrender his castles, including Framlingham, into the king's hands, receiving them back again by way of formal submission probably, if Robert de Monte's chronology is correct, in 1157, the year in which Henry held a court at St. Edmunds Bury. For the next few years the earl remained comparatively quiet, but it is probable that Orford Castle was built about that time, certainly before 1166, on behalf of the king, with the object of putting a check on Framlingham.[2] It was in 1166 that the Bishop of Norwich, Bigod's guest of 1148, published the sentence of excommunication on his former host, laying his staff on the high altar in Norwich Cathedral, and defying any man, king or noble, to take it away with him.[3] Although the occasion of this incident was the treatment of Pentney Priory—with which Hugh Bigod had come into conflict much in the same way as his father, Roger Bigod, had been

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[1] *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 287-296. The amount received by the Earl of Norfolk from this source was £28 4s. a year.

[2] See Mr. Redstone's "Orford and its Castle," *Suffolk Inst. Arch.*, vol. x., 207.

[3] See Dr. Jessopp's "On the Edge of the Norfolk Holy Land," in his *Studies by a Recluse*, and his article on William Turbe in the *Dict. of National Biography*.

involved in a minor dispute with St. Edmunds Abbey over the lands of his tenant, Robert de Curzon—its significance lies in the fact that it took place whilst the Becket controversies were at their height—two years after the promulgation of article seven of the Constitutions of Clarendon, by which it was provided that no tenant-in-chief of the king should be excommunicated without the previous consent of the latter. It is evident also from the letter of Henry II. to the justices, against the action of the Pope and the archbishop, that not only the Bishop of Norwich, but also the Bishop of London (Gilbert Foliot) had put an interdict on the lands of Earl Hugh.[1] In December, 1170, Becket sent letters to the Bishop of Norwich absolving Bigod. It is noteworthy that whilst William Turbe was the only bishop who supported Becket consistently from start to finish, Bishop Hilary of Chichester, the other survivor of the visitors to Framlingham in 1148, was the foremost episcopal opponent of the great archbishop.

In 1173 Framlingham Castle played a highly important part on the occasion of what Stubbs calls "the last Norman rebellion on English soil"—a rebellion which has been erroneously connected with the murder of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Henry II. was confronted with a powerful coalition consisting of his sons, Prince Henry (already crowned), Richard, and Godfrey, with their Norman supporters, the Kings of France and of Scotland, the Count of Flanders, and the Earl of Norfolk, with those whom he was able to influence.[2] Robert de Beaumont, second Earl of Leicester, landed on September 29th at Walton, near the mouth of the Orwell, a manor belonging to Bigod, and, after

[1] Contra statuta regni interdixerunt terram Hugonis comitis, et in ipsum sententiam anathematis intulerunt." For the date of this, 1169, see Stubbs' note to R. de Hoveden, i., 232.

[2] See Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, i., 514 *seq.*, and his preface to *Benedict of Peterborough*, in the Rolls Series, vol. i.

endeavouring in vain to capture Walton Castle, according to one account, whilst, according to another, it was already on their side, proceeded to Framlingham, where he quartered his men on the inhabitants of the town. From Framlingham he advanced upon Haughley Castle, held by Ralph de Broc, captured it on October 13th, and then returned to Framlingham. As his stay there was, however, obnoxious to Hugh Bigod, and more particularly (according to Ralph de Diceto) to Bigod's countess, he decided to advance at once westward, but was defeated at Fornham St. Genevieve, near St. Edmunds Bury, on the seventeenth of that month, with a loss of ten thousand Flemings, including dead, wounded, and prisoners. The royal troops fought under the banner of St. Edmund, and popular feeling was undoubtedly on their side, and against the invaders. The Bigods appear to have been divided among themselves, if Jocelyn of Brakelond is correct in telling us that Roger, the son of Hugh Bigod, claimed to have been the bearer of the banner of the saint on the day of battle, and that Abbot Samson acknowledged this to be correct, although it was his father who received the Earl of Leicester at Framlingham. It may be noted that the Earl of Leicester's countess, Petronilla (or Parnell), who accompanied her husband on the expedition, and flung her ring into the river near the field of battle, was the heiress of the family of Grantmesnil, and was thus connected with the Bigods, Earl Hugh's mother having been the daughter of Sir Hugh Grantmesnil.

The battle of Fornham failed, however, to bring about the immediate restoration of order in East Anglia. In the following year Hugh Bigod, with a newly-collected force consisting largely of Flemings, captured and burned Norwich, and made an unsuccessful assault on Dunwich, incidents which two of the chroniclers—William of Newburgh and Jordan Fantosme—have erroneously attributed to the Earl of Leicester's short

campaign of the autumn of 1173.[1] The civil war was largely conducted on both sides by means of mercenaries, and Henry II., who marched against Framlingham and Bungay for the purpose of besieging them, but received the submission of Earl Bigod about the end of July, 1174, apparently before siege operations had commenced, was himself at the head of an army in which Brabançons, Welshmen, and Basques were an important element. Earl Hugh gave a thousand marks and hostages as a guarantee of peace, and his Flemings were allowed to return to Flanders on condition that they would never take part in another hostile expedition on English soil. The sheriff's returns for the two following years, contained in the Pipe Rolls, give various items of expenditure in connection with the work of demolishing Framlingham Castle[2] and filling up the fosse, the carpenters and masons being under the orders of Alnodus, the engineer,[3] and the writ being issued by Richard de Lucy, the justiciar. The sums of £14 15s. 11d. and 36s. 1d. are entered in 1175-6 for the respective purposes, and the sum of £7 10s. 6d. in the following year for demolition only. Five hundred men were engaged in razing Framlingham and Bungay, and it is not surprising that Matthew Paris should add to his chronicles the statement that Hugh Bigod never breathed freely afterwards. He was allowed, however, to retain his earldom. A year or two later, either in 1176 or in 1177, he died, it is said, whilst on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and was buried at Thetford.

The vast expenditure incurred by Hugh Bigod in connection with the civil war of 1173 and 1174,

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1 Ralph de Diceto, whom Matthew Paris follows in the *Historia Major*, agrees in the main points with Benedict of Peterborough and R. de Hoveden.

2 *Ad prosternendum Castrum de Framlingham.* The passages are quoted in Rokewode's edition of *Jocelyn of Brakelond*, p. 112.

3 Mr. Redstone, in "Orford and its Castle," *Suffolk Inst. Arch.*, x., 215, suggests that Alnodus may have been the same as Alynoth Norman, coroner for Ipswich, who was concerned in the building of Orford Castle.

necessitating the employment of many thousands of mercenaries, had been defrayed partly out of his own revenues and partly out of such of the royal revenues as he had been able to seize, including those of the Honour of Eye.[1] His son and successor, Roger Bigod, the second earl, though differing from his father's politics, was called upon to make good the deficiency in the Exchequer receipts, besides paying in £673 3s. 6d. as a fine, and an appeal made by him and his stepmother Gandreda, relating to the inheritance, appears to have been taken as a pretext for the temporary retention of his estates in the king's hands. It is also possible, though this is a point which would require further research, that the number of his knights' fees may have suffered diminution, as the figures given in Earl Hugh's *Carta* of 1166,[2] showing the number and names of the knights enfeoffed by the first Roger Bigod during the lifetime of Henry I., and by Hugh Bigod himself since that time, are considerably in excess of the 120 knights' fees for the services of which, as well as for arrears of scutages, Roger, the second earl, is stated to have compounded in 1214 by a fine of two thousand marks. From the lists[3] based by Hawes and Green on manorial and other records from Richard II. onward, it appears that more than fifty of these knights' fees must have been specially associated with Framlingham Castle, though only in a few instances for the purpose of castle guard. Whatever may have actually happened with regard to the knights' fees, it is evident that Roger Bigod must have been greatly impoverished as the result of his father's rebellion—a rebellion which, if successful, would have made him the independent ruler of East Anglia, bound to the central power by the slenderest of

1 See Mr. Redstone, *Suffolk Inst. Arch.*, x., 220.

2 *Red Book of the Exchequer*, pp. 395-7.

3 Hawes, *Hist. of Framlingham*. ed. Loder, pp. 333-341; Green's *Framlingham and Saxsted*, pp. 29-35. On the general subject see Round's *Feudal England*, pp. 236, 299.

Interior of Framlingham Castle.

ties, possessed of thriving cities and a formidable array of fortresses, and with Framlingham as the Windsor of his dominions.

Roger, the second earl, was confirmed in the possession of his lands, offices, and dignities on November 27th, 1189, by a charter of Richard I., and filled various high posts both at home and abroad. His principal title to distinction is, however, to be found in the fact that he was one of the leaders of the confederate barons who extorted the Great Charter from King John, and was one of the twenty-five executors elected for the purpose of securing its due observance.[1] It was, indeed, fitting that those who appealed, as they so constantly did, to the charter granted by Henry I. should have among their leaders the grandson and namesake of the Roger Bigod who had witnessed that charter. In the civil war which followed in the autumn of 1215 Norfolk and Suffolk suffered severely at the hands of the combatants on both sides, and Bigod's lands were devastated by the alien troops in the service of King John, who had himself visited Framlingham Castle in more peaceful times in March, 1213.[2] On this occasion, for the last time in its history, Framlingham Castle had to stand a siege. Owing, however, to the absence of the baronial forces, then engaged in an attack on Windsor, and the consequent depletion of the garrison, it soon capitulated. The visit of the king in 1213, and the events of 1215, show that considerable progress must have been made with the reconstruction of the castle since its demolition in and about 1176. The Close Rolls contain a list of the knights who surrendered, and of the hostages.[3] Some of the prisoners were conveyed to Norwich and to

1 *Hist. Major*, ii., pp. 585, 604.
2 March 12th, 1213. Hardy's *Introduction to the Patent Rolls, Itinerary of King John.*
3 *Close Rolls of King John*, 1216, pp. 254, 255.

Orford. The landing of a French force of seven thousand men in Suffolk in November, 1215, part of the vanguard of Louis's army, helped to relieve the pressure, but John's death in the following year removed the need for French assistance, and, although Louis's troops appear (in 1217) to have occupied Framlingham Castle —which, together with the "honour" of Framlingham (a unique instance of the use of the term in this connection, possibly due to a confusion with Eye) had been committed by King John to Henry Cerne and Nicholas Fitz Robert, but had been restored to Roger Bigod in the following year[1]—it is probable that, in common with most of the barons, Roger had by that time decided to support the cause of Henry III., and he was not present at the battle of Lincoln, which shattered Louis's hopes.

Roger died in August, 1221, a few months after his hereditary right to the stewardship of the royal household had been formally recognised at the council held at Oxford in May of that year. Hugh, his son, the third earl, only survived him four years, but by his wife, daughter of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, left two sons, both of whom played a prominent part in the annals of the thirteenth century. Hugh, the younger of the two, trained as a lawyer, became in time Chief Justiciar of England, displaying in that capacity a strenuousness to which Matthew Paris pays a remarkable tribute. Roger, the elder, fourth Earl of Norfolk, married Isabella, sister of Alexander, King of Scotland, and of the wife of Hubert de Burgh. The hand of the latter may, perhaps, be discerned in the deed by which, in the tenth year of Henry III., Roger was granted livery of the castle of Framlingham as soon as he came of age, the custody of the castle being in the meantime entrusted to Hubert.[2] The new earl came of age in 1233. Known by his prowess in the field and at the tournament,

[1] *Close Rolls*, 17 John, pt. i., 6.
[2] *Patent Rolls*, 10 Henry III., 3, m. 1, quoted by Hawes, p. 28.

he also took an active part in the constitutional struggles of the reign. In 1244 he was elected in the Parliament of that year a member of the famous Committee of Twelve, of which Robert Grosseteste was the most influential member, and which demanded the appointment of a responsible ministry and the introduction of other reforms.[1] In the following year he headed the lay deputation to the Council of Lyons, protesting in the presence of Innocent IV. against excessive pecuniary exactions and the intrusion of aliens into English livings, and objecting to a renewal of the pledges given to the Pope by King John[2]; and, in the spring of 1246, Bigod joined with Richard, Earl of Cornwall, Simon de Montfort, and others in a letter to the Pope embodying their grievances.[3] Matthew Paris says that he and his colleagues left Lyons "swearing terribly." In the same year he became Earl Marshal in right of his mother. He was present in 1253 at the solemn Confirmation of the Charters. In 1255 Matthew Paris records his quarrel with Henry III. in the lobby[4] of Parliament, when the king accused him of being a traitor, and Bigod retorted hotly, giving him the lie direct, saying that he never had been and never would be a traitor. "I can," continued Henry, "thresh out your corn and sell it, and so humble you." "If so," replied Bigod, "I will send you back the heads of your threshers." Some who were present interposed to put an end to the dispute. That a reconciliation was effected is shown by the fact that in April of the following year Henry III. was the guest of the Earl Marshal at

1 See the present writer's *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 220; Stubbs' *Const. History*, ii., 63.

2 *Hist. Major*, iv., 420, 431, 478, 479, 533.

3 He also combined, on the occasion of his visit to Lyons, private business relating to his relations with his wife Isabella, with regard to which he had appealed to the Pope for the solution of certain canonical difficulties (Bliss, *Papal Letters*, April, 1248). The cause had already lasted more than three years.

4 *In propatulo.*

Framlingham Castle, and it was from there that the king dated, on April 2nd, three letters, addressed respectively to Pope Alexander IV., Cardinal John of Toledo, and the king's proctors at Rome, concerning the church of Hartburn.[1] The king had also paid an earlier visit to Framlingham in 1248, a royal charter of March 30th of that year being dated from there, granting free warren to the Prior and Convent of Norwich, and also a royal charter of April 2nd, containing a grant to the Prior and Convent of Worcester. This shows incidentally that the castle, rebuilt in the days of the second earl, was fit to receive the sovereign and his retinue in the time of the fourth. Traces of these visits are to be found in the pennies of Henry III. unearthed in the locality.[2]

In 1258 Bigod appears, together with his younger brother, the justiciar, as a member of the Commission of Twenty-four, and also of the Council of Fifteen appointed to advise the king under the Provisions of Oxford. His views are probably best represented in his speech of April 28th to the king, recorded in the Tewkesbury annals, in which he demands that the Poitevins and all other aliens may be dismissed, and "flee from his face and from their's as from the face of a lion, that there may be glory to God and peace on earth. This is our secret, which we entrust to you for the sake of the dignity, honour, and advancement of your kingship and of the whole realm. In swearing to adhere to your counsels, you will provide the best remedy and consolation in present troubles." Although his sympathies had always been with the party of reform, he was unable to follow the latest developments of Simon de Montfort's policy, but one need not treat this change of front as a defection from the national cause, or attribute it, as the *Song of Lewes* does in the case of

1 *Hist. Major*, Addit., vi., 319-321.

2 *British Archæological Association*, vi., 452. See Green's *Framlingham*, p. 44, note, and the reference to Henry III.'s Charter in *Cal. Patent Rolls*, Edw. IV., i., 160.

all the nobles who failed to follow Earl Simon, to *spes terreni muneris*.[1] That there was a change of front of some kind is shown by the *Chronicle of Dover*[2] and by Thomas Wykes, the former stating that in 1263 the Earl Marshal and others "left the counsel of the Barons and sought the peace of the king and Prince Edward," whilst the latter ascribes the change to Edward's influence. He was one of the signatories who agreed to submit to the arbitration of the King of France all questions arising out of the Provisions of Oxford.[3] His absence from the battles of Lewes and Evesham, in spite of the appeal

> "O tu comes le Bigot, pactum serva sanum;
> Cum sis miles strenuus, nunc exerce manum,"[4]

may indicate that he was not in full agreement with either side, or it may have been due to the physical strain received at the Blyth tournament many years previously, of which, according to Matthew Paris, he still felt the effects late in life. On the other hand, his name appears in 1265 in the list of the earls summoned to the Parliament of that year, and he is mentioned as having been appointed Governor of Orford Castle in the baronial interest after the battle of Lewes. The song already quoted speaks of him as a *miles strenuus*, much in the same way as Matthew Paris describes his brother as a "strenuous" justiciar.

We now come to Roger Bigod, fifth and last Earl of Norfolk of that illustrious line, and Earl Marshal of England. He was the son of the justiciar and nephew of the fourth earl, whom he succeeded in 1270. The part he took in the constitutional struggles of Edward I.'s

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1 See Mr. Kingsford's note to line 222 of the *Song of Lewes*.

2 Quoted by Kingsford. See also *Ann. Monastici* (Wykes), ed. Luard, iv., 137.

3 *Royal Letters of Henry III.*, ed. Shirley, ii., 252. See also the references to Roger Bigod in the French satirical song given in Wright's *Political Songs*, pp. 63 *sqq*.

4 Wright, p. 123.

reign is not unlike that which his uncle played in the days of Henry III. He and Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, occupying the respective positions of Earl Marshal and Constable of England, placed themselves at the head of the resistance to unjust taxation, and this culminated in 1297 in their refusal on principle to serve in Gascony whilst the king served in Flanders, and in the well-known incident of the personal altercation recorded by Walter de Hemingburgh between Bigod and Edward I., which recalls that which Matthew Paris relates of the fourth earl and Henry forty years previously. "With you, O king," said Bigod, "I will gladly go; as belongs to me by hereditary right, I will go in the front of the host before your face." "But without me," retorted Edward, "you will go with the rest." "Without you, O king," replied Roger, "I am not bound to go, and go I will not." Thereupon the king, with a possible reference to the earl's name, exclaimed impatiently, "By God, earl, you shall either go or hang!" "By God," said Roger, "O king, I will neither go nor hang!"[1] Then followed the struggle which resulted in the confirmation and ratification of the charters by the king at Ghent in the autumn of the same year. On April 12th, 1302, for reasons which Hemingburgh attributes to a pecuniary quarrel between the earl and his brother John,[2] but which are more likely to have been due either to royal pressure or to considerations connected with the recent statute De Donis Conditionalibus, Roger Bigod surrendered to the king and his heirs all his castles and estates, together with the earldom of Norfolk and the Marshalship of England, on condition that the king, paying his debts and adding to his lands other lands of the annual value of a thousand marks, should regrant them to him and

1 W. de Hemingburgh, ii., 121; Stubbs' *Const. History*, ii., 138.

2 Presumably the same as John le Bigod, parson of Framlingham and certain other churches. *Pat. Rolls*, 25 Edw. I., pt. i., 16d.

his second wife, Alice, and their issue, failing which they were to pass to the king and his heirs.[1] Roger died on December 11th, 1306, without issue, and was buried with great honour at Thetford.[2] His widow, Alice, daughter of John d'Avesnes, Count of Hainault, continued to have the use of his estates in accordance with the arrangements until her death a few years later,[3] and thus and then it was that Framlingham Castle passed into the hands of Edward II., after being for more than two centuries in the hands of the Bigods. The Close Rolls[4] indicate that even during her lifetime the Crown was responsible for the custody of the "king's parks" at Framlingham, and for the repair of the palings, roads, and mills by means of oaks taken from the parks, as well as for the defence and manning of the castle itself. About a year before his death Roger Bigod had granted to John of Uffeton, his chamberlain, the custody for life of all his parks and woods connected with Framlingham.[5] John of Uffeton transferred these rights and duties to one Richard of Wingfield,[6] and the Crown confirmed these arrangements. It is clear that the great park at Framlingham must have existed at least as far back as 1281, and probably much earlier, as in that year we read of a commission appointed to enquire into the action of trespassers who broke into it, carried away Bigod's deer and fished in his fishponds.[7]

The career of the Bigods during their connection with Framlingham Castle illustrates the gradual change effected in the attitude of the baronage during the

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1 *Close Rolls*, 30 Edw. I., d. 14. See Hawes, p. 36. The request was on July 12th. *Close Rolls*, n. 24, 28, 29.

2 *Flores Historiarum* (Matthew of Westminster), iii., 328.

3 There is some doubt as to the date of her death. Most accounts represent her as surviving her husband about three years, but p. 504 of *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1307-13, points to 1317 as the date.

4 *Close Rolls*, 1 Edw. II., 2, 9, 12; 2 Edw. II., 13, 21; 4 Edw. II., 20. *Pat. Rolls*, 4 Edw. II., pt. i., 18.

5 *Pat. Rolls*, 33 Edw. I., pt. ii., 11.

6 *Close Rolls*, 4 Edw. II., 20. *Pat. Rolls*, 4 Edw. II., pt. i., 18.

7 *Pat. Rolls*, 9 Edw. I., 28d. (55), 27d., 15d.

period which elapsed from the Norman Conquest to the close of the reign of Edward I. Most striking in this respect is the contrast between the twelfth century and the thirteenth. In the former they asserted their feudal rights and their particularism with little regard for the general interests of the realm; yet even then the part taken by the first Roger Bigod in relation to Henry I.'s charter, and the understanding of Hugh Bigod with Archbishop Theobald, exhibit an improving tendency. In the thirteenth century the influence of the Church, or at any rate of its most enlightened leaders, such as Stephen Langton, Robert Grosseteste, Walter de Cantelupe, and others, brought into line both barons and people in opposition to the encroachments alike of the king and of the papal curia, and furthered the growth of national aims, constitutional freedom, and settled government. In this connection Roger, the second earl, will always be associated with the Great Charter, the fourth earl with the Provisions of Oxford, and the fifth earl with the final Confirmation of the Charters. It is gratifying to reflect that Framlingham Castle was not only the principal residence of the Bigods, but one of the chief sources of their strength, and that their East Anglian earldom was not an empty title, but a powerful reality, which enabled them to exercise a deep and lasting influence on the political destinies of their country.

After an interval of a few years, in the course of which there is an incidental mention of John de Bottetourt, the Admiral, as having held in 1311 the office of constable of Framlingham Castle, Edward II. granted, in December, 1312, the title of Earl of Norfolk to his half-brother, Thomas of Brotherton, eldest son of Edward I. by his second Queen, Margaret, daughter of Philip III. of France. Thomas of Brotherton was at that time only twelve years of age. Four years later he was created Earl Marshal, and at various times between 1312 and 1317 he received the grant of all the estates

which had previously belonged to Roger Bigod. Not only did he thus come into the possession of the lands and titles of the Bigods, but he also shared, according to the Monk of Malmesbury, some of their "strenuousness."[1] There is little in his public career that affects Framlingham, though he undoubtedly used it as his habitual residence.[2] On one occasion his tenure of the castle involved him in a situation bearing some resemblance to that in which Hugh Bigod had found himself a century and a half earlier. In September, 1326, Queen Isabella, who, be it remembered, was Thomas of Brotherton's first cousin on his mother's side, as well as the wife of his half-brother, Edward II., landed at Walton, a manor held of the Castle of Framlingham,[3] and was there joined by the Earl Marshal. Unlike, however, the Earl of Leicester in 1173, she proceeded from Walton, not to Framlingham, but to St. Edmunds Bury, and thence to the West.[4] In this conflict, which had more relation to persons than to principles, and which resulted ultimately in the deposition of Edward II. and the proclamation of Edward III., both sides were unfortunate in their leaders. There are indications that Thomas of Brotherton desired to keep up the traditional association of the earldom of Norfolk with the baronial cause, and this explains his support of the queen and Mortimer as long as their invasion appeared to be directed against the centralized misgovernment of the king and his favourites, and his membership of the Council of Regency after the deposition of Edward II. and the accession of Edward III.; and it also explains why,

1 *Mon. of Malmesb.*, p. 263.

2 See, *inter alia*, the annex to the court rolls of Kelsale Manor, quoted in Green's *Framlingham*, p. 48.

3 Cp. *Close Rolls*, 12 Edw. III., pt. iii., 14.

4 Adam Murimuth, p. 46. *Flores Historiarum*, iii., 233. John of Hainault, her brother-in-law, who accompanied her, was a near relative of Roger Bigod's widow, Alice, the late *comitissa Norfolchiae et mariscella Angliae* (*Flores Hist.*, iii., 329), who had died probably about ten years previously.

when Mortimer began to act like Gaveston and the Despencers, Thomas joined Henry, Earl of Lancaster, in refusing to attend the Parliament at Salisbury, and why, in December, 1328, he joined with the Earl of Kent in summoning a meeting in London in defence of the Great Charter. That he did not share the Earl of Kent's fate, and that he survived Mortimer, are facts which show perhaps that he had more caution than calibre.

On the accession of Edward III. Thomas had obtained confirmation of all the castles and estates formerly Roger Bigod's, and previously granted to him, and then valued at six thousand marks a year.[1] In the returns relating to the tax of a twentieth on movables voted by the Parliament at Lincoln, the writ being dated November 23rd, 1327, the name of the Earl Marshal does not appear in the list for the parish of Framlingham, though it appears in nine other parishes in the county.[2] It would be interesting to know whether this apparent exemption from assessment was due to local consideration for the heavy feudal imposts he had to bear, or to a provision in the general law, or to exemption by special grant, in view of Framlingham being treated as a royal castle, or whether his contribution was paid through William le Parker. There is no doubt that in his time the organisation of Framlingham Castle was placed on a more elaborate footing, for we find mention of a governor or constable, a treasurer, a collector of revenues, an armour keeper, a wardrobe keeper, a porter, and a park keeper, besides a steward of the manor and a bailiff of the hundred of Loes. Some of these posts had been established in the days of the Bigods, and some of them were held then and subsequently by men of prominence.[3] It was before Thomas of Brotherton's death in 1338 that the earldom of Suffolk came into existence, being conferred

[1] *Rot. Cur. Framlingham*, quoted by Hawes, p. 39.

[2] *Suffolk in* 1327, being vol. ii. of the *Suffolk Green Books*, ed. by the Rev. Sydenham Hervey.

[3] Lists will be found in Hawes, ed. Loder, and in Green.

upon Robert of Ufford. A couple of centuries earlier such a separation of Suffolk from Norfolk would have been fraught with deep political and administrative significance. Happening when it did, it was little more than a personal reward to Robert of Ufford for services rendered to the king, and there continued for nearly two centuries and a half longer[1] to be but one sheriff for the two counties, but perhaps the lawlessness of which the records speak as prevailing at that time in Suffolk may have had something to do with the alteration. Temporarily it would, doubtless, have the effect of diminishing the importance of Framlingham in relation to the county.

With Thomas of Brotherton the history of the castle enters on a new phase, inasmuch as all its subsequent possessors, until 1635, including the Mowbrays and the Howards (with the exception of certain grantees to be mentioned hereafter, who held the castle during a few brief intervals), owed their connection with Framlingham to their descent from him. The process of devolution by which it passed from Thomas of Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, to Thomas Mowbray, first Duke of Norfolk, occupies the rest of the fourteenth century, and is more interesting to the genealogist than to the historian, as the castle was principally in female hands during that period. Mary, Thomas of Brotherton's widow, continued to hold it until 1363,[2] and is described in the court rolls of the manor as Countess Marshal.[3] On her death, which occurred in that year, the Framlingham portion of the Brotherton estates was to have gone to her younger daughter Alice, wife of Sir Edward de Montacute, and the rest of the property to the elder daughter, Margaret; but, as Alice had predeceased her, it was to Alice's

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[1] 1576. During the latter period the practice appears to have been to choose the sheriffs alternately from Norfolk and from Suffolk.

[2] *Pat. Rolls*, 12 Edw. III., pt. i., 3; pt. ii., 42. *Close Rolls*, 12 Edw. III., pt. iii., 14.

[3] *Rot. Cur. Framlingham*, 20 and 25 Edw. III., quoted by Hawes.

daughter Joan, wife of William of Ufford, second Earl of Suffolk, son of the Ufford who led the men of Suffolk at Crécy, and played so prominent a part at Poitiers, that Framlingham actually passed. William was the "amiable Earl of Suffolk," as Walsingham calls him, who, at the time of the East Anglian rising of 1381, escaped in disguise in order not to be compelled to head the revolt, which he was afterwards commissioned to suppress. Framlingham itself appears to have been spared, but several of Ufford's manors suffered, and two years later a recrudescence of the outbreak affected a place as near to Framlingham as Parham, a Marlesford man, named Scrivener, making himself conspicuous in the disturbances.[1] After the death of his wife in 1378, William of Ufford continued to hold Framlingham Castle until his own death in 1382 as tenant by "the curtesy of England," but such of the dignities as were transmissible passed in the former year to Margaret, Thomas of Brotherton's elder daughter, who also came into possession of the estates in the latter year, when she had reached a comparatively advanced age. In the Framlingham Manorial Rolls she is called Countess of Norfolk and Countess Marshal; but, although she was undoubtedly entitled to both designations, no decision was arrived at when she claimed to act as Marshal at the coronation of Richard II.[2] This may have been due, not to disability arising from her sex, but to the intricate question whether the office of Earl Marshal included that of Marshal of England—a question which was not finally settled until some time before December, 1431.[3] By her first husband, the third Lord Segrave, she had one daughter, Elizabeth, who married John, the tenth Lord Mowbray, and whose son, Thomas Mowbray, became ultimately the possessor of Framlingham after the death

1 Powell, *East Anglian Rising*, p. 25.
2 *Munimenta Gildhall London*, ii., 458.
3 See *post*, p. 143.

of his grandmother. The Segrave connection forms a link with the traditions of the Bigods, the first Lord Segrave having been one of the baronial leaders in the time of Henry III., and the second having attached himself to the last Roger Bigod in 1297 by an indenture by which he covenanted to serve the earl with five other knights, in war and peace, for the rest of his life in England, Wales, and Scotland, in return for a grant of land and forty shillings a day for himself and company, including twenty horses,[1] apparently an early instance of the system of livery and maintenance which became so common in the fifteenth century, and, after Bigod's death, he had a lawsuit with the earl's widow, Alice, about Peasenhall and certain other Suffolk manors.[2] The Countess Margaret's second husband was Sir Walter Manny, the founder of the London Charterhouse. She survived both her husbands, as well as her daughter and son-in-law, and continued to make Framlingham Castle her home. Several of her letters are dated from there.[3] Her household accounts for 1385-6, drawn up by Giles of Wenlock, are of unusual length, and show that the arrangements were on a stately scale.[4] She, too, suffered from the depredations of trespassers, and complained that Sir Roger Boys and others had broken her closes, cut her trees, and done other damage at Framlingham.[5] An interesting episode of her connection with the castle is to be found in the fact that William Woodford, a Franciscan friar, the author of several works of controversial theology in opposition to Wycliffe, one of which is dated from Framlingham, acted as her chaplain, and continued at the castle for some years after her death. It is probable that the work in question, the *Septuaginta*

1 Dugdale, *Baronage*, p. 674.
2 *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1307-13, pp. 152, 282, 504-5.
3 *E.g.*, May 29th, 1382. See *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1 H. IV., Nov. 26th, 1399.
4 *Add. Charters*, Brit. Museum, 17,208.
5 *Pat. Rolls*, 6 Rich. II., pt. ii., 10d.; 7 Rich. II., pt. i., 31d.

Quæstiones de Sacramento Eucharistiæ, was written there as far back as 1381, in which case the archbishop by whose orders he says that he wrote would be either Simon of Sudbury or William Courtenay. If, on the other hand, the archbishop in question was Thomas Arundel, the uncle of the wife of the Countess Margaret's grandson, the date would have to be shifted to some time after 1396, when Woodford began to reside continuously at the castle. In 1384, however, she describes him in a document as her "well-beloved father in God,"[1] and there is, therefore, every likelihood that he may have been a visitor to Framlingham before that date, the supposition most in accordance with internal evidence. On September 29th, 1397, the Countess Margaret was created Duchess of Norfolk for life on the same day on which her grandson, Thomas Mowbray, was created first Duke of Norfolk. She died at Framlingham in March, 1399.[2]

The creation of the dukedom of Norfolk is associated with tragic mystery, not yet wholly unravelled. In 1387 and 1388 Thomas Mowbray, already Earl of Nottingham and Earl Marshal, had been one of the Lords Appellant, joining, somewhat late and reluctantly, the Duke of Gloucester and the Earls of Arundel, Derby, and Warwick in the action they took in connection with the "Merciless Parliament." He was the first of the five

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1 *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1381-5, p. 452. For his bibliography, see Little's *Grey Friars at Oxford*, pp. 246-9, etc. At least five manuscripts of the work are in existence.

2 *The Dict. of Nat. Biography* (art. Thomas of Brotherton) gives March 24th, 1400, as the date, whilst in the article on Thomas of Mowbray (vol. xxxix., p. 235) the date is given correctly as 1399, on the strength of Rot. Parl., iii., 372, but there is some doubt as to the day of the month. The reference to 1 H. IV. in Arundel MS. 49, College of Arms, may have been the original source of the error 1400, as the regnal year 1 H. IV. has generally been understood to commence on Sept. 30th, 1399, and March of that regnal year would therefore be March, 1400; but the reference may be to the date of the *compotus*, not of the death. The *Dict. of Nat. Biography* (art. Thomas of Brotherton) gives the place of her burial as the Charterhouse and (art. Manny) as the Franciscan Church, Newgate Street. The former agrees with Stow and Weever.

to be reconciled to the king, and, with a convert's zeal, he turned against his former allies. On September 9th, 1397, whilst Captain of Calais, he caused (if his servant Hall's confession is to be trusted) Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, to be smothered under a feather bed; on the 21st, as Earl Marshal, he was present at the execution of his father-in-law Arundel, though he did not, as Froissart asserts, himself bandage his eyes and cut off his head, as it was his deputy, Lord Morley, who did the work; on the 28th he received a grant of Arundel and Warwick's forfeited estates; and the 29th was the day on which he was created Duke, and his grandmother ("Dame Margaret, the old lady," as she appears in Leland's *Collectanea*) Duchess of Norfolk, four other supporters of the king being also rewarded with dukedoms at the same time. Within a year came retribution in the form of the "put up" quarrel between Norfolk and Hereford, as given in Shakespeare's *Richard II.*, and his consequent banishment. It is doubtful whether he ever derived any benefit from the possession of Framlingham, as in March, 1399, Richard II. revoked the letters patent by which he had empowered him to receive inheritances by attorney, and he himself died in exile at Venice on September 22nd, possibly, though not probably, after a visit to the Holy Land.[1]

An interesting incident of the next few years is to be found in the tenure of the castle for the first few years of the reign of Henry IV. by the "King's Knight," Sir Thomas Erpingham, the future hero of Agincourt, who received the offices of constable of Framlingham, master of the game, and keeper of the parks,[2] and held a manorial court there in 1400.[3] The arrangement

1 See Mr. Tait's article in the *Dict. of Nat. Biography* on Mowbray, Thomas (I.), twelfth Baron Mowbray and first Duke of Norfolk.

2 *Pat. Rolls*, 1 H. IV., pt. iii., 30, pt. vi., 37; 2 H. IV., pt. i., 8.

3 *Rot. Cur. Framlingham*, 1 H. IV., quoted by Hawes. He was to render yearly £174 2s. 2d. to the Exchequer, deducting from it an allowance of £40 for the office of constable (Nov. 17th, 1401), *cf.* Nov. 12th, 1399.

appears to have been due to an exchange effected with the assent of Elizabeth, the widow of the first duke, and dictated by military considerations, as it was not considered desirable that a castle within easy reach of the coast and exposed to various perils[1] should remain in a woman's hands in time of war during the minority of the heir, Thomas Mowbray. The latter, moreover, though he married the king's niece, Constance Holland, daughter of the beheaded Duke of Exeter, was suspected of anti-dynastic sympathies. After a time, however, Framlingham was regranted to him, and on the occasion of his first manorial court, held there in the fifth year of Henry IV., he is described as Earl Marshal, Earl of Nottingham, Lord of Mowbray, Segrave and Gower,[2] not having been permitted to assume the title of Duke of Norfolk. His tenure was of brief duration, as he joined in 1405 the Northern rebellion, and united with Archbishop Scrope of York in denouncing the maladministration of Henry "the usurper." Scrope and Mowbray were captured by treachery, and their execution at York is rightly described by Stubbs as a judicial murder. The consequential forfeiture of Mowbray's estates and other property to the Crown included a white horse at Framlingham, valued at £40, and a grey horse, valued at £20.[3] The castle itself was granted temporarily to Henry, Prince of Wales, the future Henry V.,[4] his first manorial court being held there in the sixth year of his father's reign,[5] but the exigencies of the Northern and Welsh campaigns probably rendered it impossible for him to reside there, and eight years later it was restored, shortly before the king's death, to John Mowbray, brother and heir of the late earl, and

1 *Pat. Rolls*, 2 H. IV., pt. i., 8.
2 *Rot. Cur. Framlingham*, Hawes, p. 50.
3 *Ibid.*, 6 H. IV., Hawes, p. 51.
4 See *Ministers' Accounts*, 9 H. IV., No. 20 in bundle 997 (Possessions of the Prince of Wales), at the Record Office.
5 *Rot. Cur. Framlingham*, Hawes, p. 52.

at that time known as Earl Marshal and Earl of Nottingham, Lord of Mowbray, Segrave and Gower.[1] It was not until the Parliament of 1425 that, after considerable discussion as to the relative precedence of Mowbray and Warwick, it was decided that the Earl Marshal was by right Duke of Norfolk.[2] As he acted as Marshal of England as well as Earl Marshal at the coronation of Henry VI. in Notre Dame, Paris, it is certain that his father-in-law, the Earl of Westmoreland, must before that date have resigned the former post in his favour,[3] thus allowing the dignities to be again combined, as had been the case in the previous century. He made Framlingham his principal seat, where he kept his court, summoned his council, and lived in fifteenth-century state. In legal documents[4] reference is made to "the coming of the Right High and Mighty Prince, the Duke of Norfolk, from his Castle of Framlingham to the City of Norwich," and to "the Council of the said Duke of Norfolk in his lordships in Norfolk and Suffolk"—a council the membership of which it is possible to reconstitute in part during his lifetime, and more completely during that of his successor, by means of the Paston correspondence and the records of the manor. The second duke died in 1432 at Epworth, in the Isle of Axholm.[5] His widow, Catherine, inherited a large portion of the duke's estates, but not Framlingham, which passed to their son, John Mowbray, the third duke. It may be noted that both the Dowager Duchess Elizabeth, who had died in 1425, widow of the first duke, and the Dowager Duchess Catherine, widow of the second, had four successive husbands, the family connection becoming thereby somewhat complex.

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1 *Rot. Cur. Framlingham*, 14 H. IV., Hawes.
2 *Rot. Parl.*, IV., 262, 274.
3 Possibly as early as Henry V.'s first Parliament.
4 Such as the Information printed among the *Paston Letters*, i., 12 *sqq.*, A.D. 1424.
5 *Esch.*, 11 H. VI., n. 43.

Catherine lived on to a great age, and was nearly eighty when she contracted her "diabolic match," as William Worcester calls it,[1] with Sir John Woodville, the young brother of Edward IV.'s queen.

John Mowbray, the third duke, made Framlingham Castle his habitual residence, revived in some degree its former territorial importance, and conducted from it an active propaganda in the Yorkist interest. His early influences, however, were Lancastrian. He was knighted at the early age of eleven by the infant King Henry VI., and from the time of his father's death until he came of age in 1436 his estates were in the custody of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.[2] In 1441 he was called upon to quiet the disturbances at Norwich. In 1445 his title to the dukedom of Norfolk was recognised by the king's letters patent,[3] his precedence in that capacity being next to that of the Duke of Exeter. The atmosphere, however, already showed signs of the approaching storm. Dynastic dissensions, quarrels between rival nobles, the growing abuses of the system of livery and maintenance, and the number of unemployed soldiers no longer required in France, rather than constitutional and economic questions, contributed to hasten the outbreak of civil war. In 1447, on his return from a pilgrimage to Rome, the duke took the prudent course, in view of contingencies, of conveying Framlingham Castle and manor on trust to John Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury, Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, and other feoffees, for the use of himself and his heirs.[4] Mowbray's mother was sister-in-law to the Duke of York, and his wife, Elizabeth Bourchier, was also connected

1 *Annals*, p. 783.

2 *Rot. Parl.*, iv., 433.

3 *Ibid.*, v., 446. That the duke himself also issued letters patent is shown by *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, Edw. IV., p. 81, by which the king confirms letters patent issued ten years previously by John, late Duke of Norfolk, from Framlingham Castle, dated February 26th and April 1st, 1451, with respect to Oystermouth Castle.

4 *Rot. Cur. Framlingham*, 26 H. VI., Hawes, p. 55.

with him by marriage, so that it is possible that family considerations may have turned the scale in the Yorkist favour; but he was a hereditary legitimist, and perhaps, too, some personal slight, such as the precedence accorded to his political opponent Somerset, may have contributed to the result. In August of 1450—the year which had witnessed the impeachment and death of William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, the "Apè Clog," whose envy, according to a skit of the time, was said to have laid the "White Lion" of Norfolk to sleep,[1] and which had witnessed Jack Cade's rebellion, almost the only move of the pawns in the game of chess between Lancaster and York—Mowbray summoned certain notable knights and squires to meet him at Framlingham Castle, "there to have communings with him for the sad rule and governaunce of this county," as the Earl of Oxford writes to him in August, by "this county" being probably meant Norfolk, not Suffolk.[2] In the two following years he was commissioner to enquire into the disorders in Norfolk.[3] On Thursday, October 15th, 1450, he met Richard of York at St. Edmunds Bury, and, at a long interview with him, "appointed and agreed of such two persons to be knights of shire for Norfolk as our said uncle and we think convenient for the welfare of the said shire."[4] They doubtless discussed other questions also, for on the 22nd Mowbray wrote from Framlingham to John Paston to await him at Ipswich on the 8th of November, on the way to Parliament, in his best array, "with as many cleanly people as ye may get for our worship at this time." There is nothing in all this to suggest active participation in an openly anti-dynastic movement, but both he and the Duke of Suffolk took out a pardon on June 23rd, 1452, following the example set

1 Gairdner's *Introd. to the Paston Letters*, ed. 1896, i., p. 50.
2 See Gairdner's note to *Paston Letters*, i., 140-1, 143.
3 *Paston Letters*, i., 139, 228 *sqq.*
4 *Paston*, i., 160.

by the Duke of York on the third of that month, and thus taking advantage of the king's offer on Good Friday of that year to confer publicly a general pardon on all who had been guilty of acts of disloyalty to himself,[1] and who were willing to sue for forgiveness. In 1453, when the king became imbecile, Norfolk petitioned against Somerset with reference to the mistakes of policy in France, but it is clear that both Margaret of Anjou and Somerset were in communication with Norfolk about this time, requesting him to dismiss the Yorkist advisers on his council,[2] and this does not look as if he had then committed himself irrevocably. The duke appears to have had a reputation for using undue influence. In 1484 the sheriff refused to return the writ for the knights of the shire for Suffolk owing to his intimidation; Cardinal Kemp's death in March of that year was attributed to excitement brought about by his threats,[3] and in June, 1455, Norfolk's duchess took upon herself to write a letter to John Paston from Framlingham, urging him to support the candidature of the duke's cousin, John Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, and of Sir Roger Chamberlain, "as it is thought right necessary for divers causes that my Lord have at this time in the Parliament such persons as look unto him, and be of his menial servants."[4]

The next few years resound with the clash of arms. The duke arrived at St. Albans with reinforcements estimated at the probably exaggerated figure of six thousand men, but too late for the actual engagement.[5] His oath that Sir Thomas Wentworth, Henry VI.'s standard-bearer, who had thrown down the standard and taken refuge in Suffolk, should be hanged, does not

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1 *Pardon Roll*, 30 and 31 H. VI.; Gairdner's *Introd. to Paston Letters*, i., 82.
2 *Paston*, i., 243, 305.
3 *Giles' Chron.*, p. 45.
4 *Paston*, i., 337.
5 *Ibid.*, i., 333.

convey the impression of strong Yorkist partizanship. In 1456, moreover, he went on a pilgrimage on foot from Framlingham to the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham,[1] and in August of the following year obtained permission to go as a pilgrim to Ireland, Rome, Jerusalem, and elsewhere for the benefit of his health,[2] but it is not known whether he went. In December, 1459, he took the oath to the Lancastrian succession,[3] and was reported early in the following year to be engaged in raising taxes in Norfolk and Suffolk for the purpose of resisting Warwick's expected landing.[4] At the second battle of St. Albans, however, in 1461, and also at Towton, he fought on the Yorkist side. On June 5th of that year he was at the lodge in Framlingham Park.[5] On the 28th he acted as Earl Marshal at the coronation of Edward IV., and received certain official appointments shortly afterwards, but in November he died, his remains being interred, like those of the Bigods and of Thomas of Brotherton, at Thetford, and not in the place of burial of the Mowbrays, thus indicating that his associations were now entirely East Anglian.

His son John, fourth Duke of Norfolk of the Mowbray line, is best known on account of the prominent part he plays in the Paston correspondence, in connection with the claim which he, in common with his father, laid to the estates of Sir John Fastolf, and his siege of Caistor Castle, which was recovered after his death by the Pastons, the rival claimants. The earldoms of Surrey and of Warren had been revived in his favour by Henry VI. about ten years before he succeeded to the dukedom of Norfolk. Framlingham Castle continued to be the headquarters of the Yorkist party in Suffolk, though the Duke of Suffolk, now also a Yorkist, residing

1 *Paston*, i., 411.
2 Rymer's *Foedera*, xi., 405.
3 *Rot. Parl.*, v., 351.
4 *Paston*, i., 514.
5 *Ibid.*, ii., 14.

at Wingfield Castle, may have detracted, from a territorial point of view, from Norfolk's solitary grandeur. In 1472 we find the two dukes in agreement about the election of the knights of the shire for Suffolk, Sir Robert Wingfield and Sir Richard Harcourt.[1] The Earl of Oxford, whose father and brother, together with Sir Thomas Tuddenham and certain others, had been executed in 1462, was at the head of the Lancastrian party in the eastern counties, with Castle Hedingham as his principal stronghold. When Henry VI. was restored in 1470, and Edward IV. fled to Flanders, the latter was accompanied by Sir Gilbert Debenham, steward of the manor of Framlingham. In the following year, when the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury resulted in Edward's restoration, the Duke of Norfolk, as Earl Marshal, presided at the trial of Somerset and of those who, with him, were beheaded after Tewkesbury. In December, 1472, we catch a hurried glimpse of an interesting visitor to Framlingham in the person of Bishop Waynflete. He arrived on a Wednesday evening, christened the duke's daughter Anne on the following morning at ten, and left almost immediately afterwards. He took the opportunity of discussing in that short time the affairs of the late Sir John Fastolf, whose executor he was.[2] On January 17th, 1476,[3] the duke died suddenly at Framlingham, as appears from a letter in which Sir John Paston says that he has informed the duke's council that he will arrange for the loan of a cloth of gold for the covering of his body and hearse on the day of the funeral, as "this country is not well purveyed" with such cloth. From the expressions in the letter it is clear that the duke, who was only thirty-one years of age, was greatly beloved. His widow, Elizabeth, daughter of the great Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, continued to reside

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1 *Paston*, iii., 53.

2 *Paston*, iii., 75.

3 *Paston*, iii., 148.

for many years at Earl Soham Lodge, which served as a sort of dower-house to Framlingham Castle.[1]

The fourth duke's only surviving child, Anne Mowbray, whom Bishop Waynflete had christened, became the heiress of the estates, and was married on January 15th, 1478,[2] by special dispensation, owing to nearness of blood, in St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, to Richard, Duke of York, both bride and bridegroom being then in their sixth year, the object being to secure the Mowbray estates for a member of the royal family, instead of letting them pass in the ordinary course to the Howards as next of kin. Previous to the marriage, the child bridegroom had been invested with several of the titles and dignities of the Mowbrays, and in his appointment, dated May 5th, 1479, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, at the age of seven, he appears as Duke of York and Norfolk, Earl of Warren, Surrey and Nottingham, Earl Marshal, Marshal of England, Lord of Segrave, Mowbray, and Gower. The castle and manor of Framlingham, after being for a short time in the hands of the dowager duchess,[3] were settled on Cardinal Bourchier and others in trust for the young Duchess Anne and her heirs. A patent roll of 1480 appointed John Sudbury porter and custodian of the castle during her minority,[4] and certain repairs were ordered about this time by Edward IV. to be carried out, the order being subsequently confirmed by Richard III.[5] The young Richard, Duke of York and Norfolk, was, however, murdered in the Tower of London, together with his brother, Edward V., and the early death of Anne, apparently in the same year, brought to an end the connection of the Mowbrays with Framlingham, and the castle passed to Sir John Howard, son of Sir Robert

1 *Paston*, iii., 383-4.
2 *Ibid.*, iii., 217.
3 *Add. Charters*, British Museum, 26,598.
4 19 Edw. IV., pt. i., 18.
5 *Harl. MSS.*, 1433, quoted in Green's *Framlingham*, p. 61.

Howard by Margaret, daughter of Thomas Mowbray, first Duke of Norfolk, a partition of the Mowbray property being effected between him and his cousin William, Lord Berkeley, who was created Earl of Nottingham on the same day (June 28th, 1483) on which Sir John Howard was created Duke of Norfolk. Although Howard had been criticized at the Parliamentary election of 1445 as being "a straunge man" and as having "no lyvelode in the shire nor conversement,"[1] he had been returned for Norfolk in that year, and for Suffolk in 1466, and had served as sheriff for the two counties. In the Framlingham Court Rolls for 1483 he is styled "John, Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal, Admiral and Marshal of England, and Lord of Howard."[2] James Hobart, afterwards appointed Attorney-General by Henry VII., was steward of the manor. The fate of the duke on Bosworth Field in 1485, in spite of the warning words:

> "Jockey of Norfolk be not so bold,
> For Dicken thy master is bought and sold,"

has been rendered familiar to all through Shakespeare's *Richard III.*, but it is worthy of note that at that battle, which brought to an end the mediæval era in English history, the East Anglian rivals led the vans of the respective armies, John Howard, assisted by his son Thomas, Earl of Surrey, being in command of Richard's front, whilst Richmond's front was commanded by John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, the two influences which controlled the Yorkist and Lancastrian parties in East Anglia being thus brought face to face. Oxford said of his cousin and opponent that "a better knight could not die, though he might die in a better cause." To the genealogist John Howard is perhaps the most important personage in the historic peerage of England, as he was the ancestor of all the numerous branches of the Howards.

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1 *Paston*, i., 340, 341.
2 *Rot. Cur. Framlingham*, 1 R. III., Hawes, p. 64.

The late duke and his son, the Earl of Surrey, having been attainted by Act of Parliament on the accession of Henry VII., Framlingham was granted temporarily to the Earl of Oxford,[1] who may perhaps have called to mind an ancient connection of the de Veres with Framlingham, the first wife of Hugh Bigod, in the twelfth century, having been the sister of Aubrey de Vere; but, in the fourth year of the new reign, Surrey's attainder was reversed, and the estates, including Framlingham, were restored to him subject to certain reservations.[2] A few years later he was made Earl Marshal, and, after his conspicuous services in command at Flodden Field, was created Duke of Norfolk by Henry VIII. in 1514,[3] becoming thus the second Duke of Norfolk of the Howard line, though, owing to the fact that this was a new creation, he was sometimes described as the first duke; and thus it is, for instance, that the poet Surrey, his grandson, is described in the monumental inscription on his alabaster tomb in Framlingham Church as son of the second and father of the third duke, whereas, according to ordinary computation, he was son of the third and father of the fourth.[4] The newly created duke made Framlingham his home, and died there on May 21st, 1524, at the age of eighty-one. At one time, in 1512, Wolsey had tried to oust him altogether from the king's counsels,[5] but a few years later the Venetian envoy, Giustinian, states that he was very intimate with the Cardinal. In his will[6] he commends his wife to Wolsey's good offices, and begs him that " for a poor remembrance he will take our

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1 *Pat. Rolls*, 1 H. VII., pt. iv., 9. Campbell's *Materials for Hist. of Hen. VII.*, i., 526; see also i., 69.

2 *Rot. Parl.*, vi., 410, 411. Campbell's *Materials for Hist. of Hen. VII.*, ii., 420-1.

3 *Pat. Rolls*, 5 H. VIII., p. 2, m. 18.

4 See *Suffolk Arch. Institute's Journal*, iii., 340-357.

5 Brewer, *Calendar*, i., 3,443.

6 Printed on page 68 of Green's *Framlingham*. It is dated May 31st, 1520.

gift a pair of gilt pots called our Skotish pots." It is in the same will that he bequeaths to his son the tapestry previously mentioned,[1] made for the great chamber at Framlingham. The Mowbray traditions appear to have been kept up at the castle, and such names as Southwell, Timperley, and Calle, descendants or relatives of their namesakes in the Paston correspondence, are to be found in the lists of officials. The auditor of accounts was Sir Philip Tilney, brother of the duke's second wife.

The life of his son and successor, Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk of that line, from the time when he succeeded to the title and estates in 1524 until his death in 1554, covers an important period, in the events of which he took a leading part, both as the foremost soldier of his time and as a statesman, though in the latter capacity he possessed neither the genius of Wolsey nor the pushfulness of Thomas Cromwell; but his career is of less interest, as far as Framlingham Castle is concerned, than that of some of his predecessors, owing to the fact that he ceased to make it his habitual residence, preferring the palace which he built himself at Kenninghall, in Norfolk, to the ancient stronghold of the Bigods, of Thomas of Brotherton, and of the Mowbrays. On the other hand, it was he who caused Framlingham Church to become for some generations the burial-place of the Howards, and he undoubtedly used the castle from time to time as a hunting centre,[2] and kept it in repair.[3] Thus in September, 1538, Sir Thomas Audley, the Lord Chancellor, writes to Cromwell that he is about "to ride into Suffolk to meet the Duke of Norfolk at Framlingham, to kill some of his bucks there."[4] The extent of the duke's influence at

1 Page 110.
2 *State Papers.*, 1535, p. 398; 1540, p. 1,008.
3 *Ibid.*, 1537, ii., 248; 1 Edw. VI., *Hist.*, 433.
4 Printed among the letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries, ed. Wright, Camden Society, p. 248.

Parliamentary elections is exhibited in his letters to Thomas Cromwell, and must have exceeded that of the Mowbrays in the fifteenth century, though in other respects he possessed less power and independence. A strange link with the past is furnished in the fact that Sir Francis Bigod, a Yorkshire descendant of the Bigods, was a leader, though apparently against his will, of the Pilgrimage of Grace, of which the Duke of Norfolk was an effective, though somewhat unwilling, repressor; and a contrast suggests itself between the owners of Framlingham in the thirteenth century, with their sturdy disregard of dictation, their grasp of constitutional principles, and their advocacy of freedom in Church and State, and the owners of Framlingham in the sixteenth century, with whom statesmanship consisted largely in the subordination of their own principles to those of a sovereign of the type of Henry VIII.

It is said that in 1534 Sir Thomas More, on being told by the Duke of Norfolk that *Indignatio principis mors est*, replied "Is that all, my lord? Then in good faith the difference between your grace and me is that I shall die to-day and you to-morrow," words which illuminate the weak points in Norfolk's public career, and found a remarkable, though partial, fulfilment in 1547, when he was saved only by the king's death on the night of January 27th from the fate which was to have been his on the following morning, and which had already been meted out to his son Henry, Earl of Surrey, whose achievements on the field of battle have been obscured by his achievements in the field of poetry, and by the recollection of his tragic end at the early age of thirty. The charge which brought Surrey to the scaffold was that of treason,[1] the specific offence of which he was accused being that of quartering the arms of

[1] Under 28 H. VIII., ch. 7, sec. 12.

Edward the Confessor. As a descendant of Thomas of Brotherton he was undoubtedly entitled to bear the royal arms, and those of the Confessor had been granted by Richard II. to another ancestor, Thomas Mowbray, first Duke of Norfolk. Apart, therefore, from possible irregularities of purely heraldic interest, it is difficult to see how any treasonable intention could be proved, and the charge was doubtless a pretext. It is interesting to note that the arms to which exception was taken were quartered, not only at Kenninghall, as mentioned in the charge, but also at Framlingham, of which Dr. Sampson says[1] that "under a window, largely carved and painted," were still to be seen in 1651 "the arms of St. Edward, King and Confessor, and those of Brotherton, under a chapeau turned up ermine, supported by two white lions, for the bearing whereof . . . the Earl of Surrey . . . lost his head in the thirty-eighth year of Henry VIII." Probably they were put up at Kenninghall because they had previously been put up at Framlingham in the time of the Mowbrays, on the strength of Richard II.'s grant. The real motive for the proceedings against Norfolk and his son is to be sought in jealousy of their position and supposed aims. The duke was, by his first wife, Anne, daughter of Edward IV., the uncle of Henry VIII. He was, moreover, uncle to two of Henry's queens, Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard, the choice of the regency during Edward VI.'s minority lay between him and Somerset, and he had been mentioned before Edward's birth as a possible successor to the throne. There is no doubt that Surrey, who in public, as in private life, was devotedly attached to his father, and had taken his side in the unhappy domestic differences between him and his mother, the duke's second wife, had spoken incautiously of his own chances of succeeding some day to the throne.

1 Hearne's edition of Leland's *Collectanea*, 1774, i., 682.

The Gateway, Framlingham Castle.

Through the Duke of Norfolk's attainder, which preceded the unfulfilled sentence of execution, Framlingham Castle passed into the hands first of Henry VIII., for a few hours only, and then of Edward VI., who caused a survey of the manor to be made in 1547,[1] in which year his first manorial court was kept, and on May 3rd, 1553, granted it to his sister Mary. During the whole of his reign the aged duke was a prisoner in the Tower of London. It was the rule for the numerous prisoners in the Tower to pay a weekly sum to the constable for their board, servants, coals, wood, and candles, and the duke had to pay £5 14s. 8d. per week for himself and one servant. At the time when this entry was made, the weekly payments ranged from £8 a week in the case of the Duchess of Somerset, widow of the Protector, to 7s. 6d. in the case of poor prisoners.[2] A similar custom existed later on in the case of prisoners confined at Framlingham.[3] And thus the duke spent the years during which a new order of ideas was impressed on religious and civil polity.

We now come to a time when, for a few weeks, from the 12th to the 31st of July, 1553, Framlingham Castle concentrated on itself the attention of all England. Edward VI., on his death-bed, at Northumberland's instigation and in opposition not only to his father's will but to constitutional practice, had disinherited his sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, in favour of Northumberland's own daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, granddaughter of Henry VIII.'s sister, Mary Tudor, by her marriage with Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. Mary, who was at Hunsdon when she heard of her brother's death, at once made her way to Kenninghall

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1 *Rot. Cur. Framlingham*, 1 E. VI., Hawes, p. 92. For the Survey see *Gough MSS. Suffolk*, Bodleian, 18,231.

2 *Gough MSS.*, quoted in *Camden Miscellany*, vol. iii., pt. 2, p. 8.

3 *Cal. State Papers*, March 1602; Bluet's *Declaration*; also William Alabaster's *Complaint to Cecil*, Aug. 9th, 1601; *Salisbury MSS.*, pt. xi., p. 329.

by way of St. Edmunds Bury, and proceeded thence to Framlingham, accompanied by Sir Henry Bedingfield and by as many tenants and retainers of him and of Sir Hubert Jerningham as could be gathered together, whilst the latter went to Yarmouth to watch the coast and communicate with the fleet. Her standard was erected immediately over the gate tower, and help poured in from all parts of Norfolk and Suffolk until her forces numbered about thirteen thousand men, and preparations were made to enable the castle to stand a siege, if required, a contingency to which it had not been exposed since the days of King John. Men and arms came from the Corporation of Norwich, ammunition from Harwich, and reinforcements were supplied by troops who left the service of Northumberland and the Council for that of their rightful sovereign. Among those who joined her at Framlingham were the Earls of Oxford, Bath, and Sussex, Lord Wentworth, Sir Thomas Wharton, and Sir John Mordaunt. The list of knights who came to swear fealty includes such well-known local names as Cornwallis, formerly steward of the manor of Framlingham, and at that time sheriff, Drury, member of Parliament for the county, Hare of Bruisyard, Rous of Dennington, Brooke of Nacton, Waldegrave, Sulyard, Shelton, Freston, and Higham,[1] and the name of Hervey of Ickworth is also to be found amongst those who were present. Sir William Drury was subsequently rewarded with an annuity, and other rewards are also mentioned in the State Papers.[2] The whole county, without distinction of creed or party, appears to have rallied round her. Foxe states that she agreed, in response to "the Suffolk men," that "she would not attempt the alteration of the religion which her brother, King Edward, had before established," but there is no

[1] Lists will be found in the *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1552-4, pp. 294, *sqq.*

[2] *Harl. MSS.*, 75 E. 30, 84, c. 30; Rymer's *Foedera*, o. xv., 352.

documentary evidence that any such pledge was given, and the names of her principal supporters do not suggest the likelihood that it was demanded. Moreover, if the writer of the *Distresses of the Commonwealth* could say with truth, soon after Elizabeth's accession, that the majority of the inhabitants of Suffolk were in favour of the ancient form of religion, this is more likely to have been the case in 1553, though the county doubtless numbered many active and stirring champions of the Reformation, as is shown by the testimony of several writers, and by the number of Suffolk victims of the Marian persecution, thirty-six out of a total of 227 for all England; but Froude is probably correct when he maintains, with regard to 1553, that "the eagerness with which the country generally availed itself of the permission to restore the Catholic ritual proves beyond a doubt that, except in London and a few large towns, the popular feeling was with the Queen." How far this was due to temporary causes, such as hatred of Northumberland and of the system associated with him, how far to causes of a deeper and more abiding character, it would be impossible to discuss here, and in any case it was very different in Suffolk some twenty years later, according to the reports of the Spanish Ambassador.[1] Mary's stay at Framlingham, the tradition of which has lingered in some curious local legends, lasted less than three weeks. Before her departure, Bishop Ridley, who on July 9th had preached at St. Paul's Cross and declared the princesses Mary and Elizabeth to be illegitimate, visited Framlingham and threw himself on the queen's mercy. He was arrested and conveyed to the Tower, arriving there on July 20th. The registers of some parishes near Framlingham, such as Worlingworth and Cratfield,[2] show how ready the villages were to

1 *Cal. State Papers*, Spanish, 1568-79, No. 123.

2 Green's *Framlingham*, pp. 77, 78; Raven's *History of Suffolk*, pp. 161, 162; Holland's *Cratfield Parish Papers*, p. 82.

provide the soldiers with the necessaries of life. When Mary left for London about the end of July, having secured her throne without effusion of blood, and the camp broke up at Framlingham, Stow relates that "victuals were of such plenty that a barrel of beer with the cask was sold for sixpence, and four great loaves of bread for a penny." With her departure the castle resumed its normal condition.

One of the first acts of Mary after her arrival in London was to bring about the release of the old Duke of Norfolk from the Tower. His attainder was reversed and his estates restored by Parliament. He presided over the trial of Northumberland, and became, besides resuming his other dignities, Lord Lieutenant of Norfolk and Suffolk. He held his first manorial court subsequent to his release at Framlingham in 1554.[1] He died, however, at Kenninghall[2] on the 25th of August of that year, and was buried in Framlingham Church. Henry Machyn, a citizen of London, who was present at the funeral, says that there was as goodly a hearse of wax as he had seen those days, with a dozen banner-rolls of his progenitors, twelve dozen pennoncels, twelve dozen scutcheons with standard, three coats of arms, a banner of damask and three banners of images, and many mourners and a "great dole," followed by a banquet, for the furnishing of which were killed forty great oxen and a hundred sheep and sixty calves, besides venison, swans, cranes, capons, rabbits, pigeons, pike, and other provisions, both flesh and fish; and there was also great plenty of wine, bread, and beer, as great plenty as ever had been known, both for rich and poor, for all the country came thither, and "a great dole of

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1 *Rot. Cur. Framlingham*, 1 M., Hawes, p. 122. It is there called: "Prima Curia Thomæ Ducis Norfolchiæ tam post prisonumentum dicti Ducis per Dominum Henricum nuper Regem anno tricesimo octavo regni, quam post deliberationem per dominam Mariam."

2 *Harl. MS.* 897 says Frenyng Hall.

money was bestowed upon the poorer sort."[1] The stately monument of the duke and of his second wife, who survived him four years, erected over his tomb in Framlingham Church, marks the close of the domestic differences which had embittered their lives.[2]

His grandson and successor, Thomas Howard, fourth duke, son of the poet Earl of Surrey, was under age at the time, and was therefore made a ward of King Philip and Queen Mary, in whose name manorial courts were held at Framlingham[3] until he came of age in 1557, and Philip acted as godfather to his son. In his early days he had been a pupil of John Foxe, the martyrologist, and remained his friend to the last in spite of all differences. The incidents of his public career have little bearing on Framlingham, as the castle was merely one of his many possessions, and was not inhabited by him. Although a supporter of Queen Elizabeth, he fell into suspicion owing to his project of marriage with Mary Queen of Scots, became subsequently involved in the Ridolfi plot, and was executed for treason in 1572. The problem how far he was the dupe of Leicester and others has not been fully solved. Creighton explains his inconsistencies by saying that "Norfolk was not a clear-headed man, and was not conscious of the bearing of his acts."[4] Camden, who was present at his trial and execution, says: "It is incredible how dearly the people loved him, whose good-will he had gained by a munificence and extraordinary affability suitable to so great a prince."[5] Partly in his own right, and partly in the right of three successive wives, two of whom are buried in Framlingham Church, he had become the greatest owner of land in the country.

1 *Diary of Henry Machyn*, citizen of London, ed. J. G. Nichols for the Camden Society, East Anglian, i., p. 15.

2 See *Suffolk Inst. Arch.*, iii., pp. 340-57. Engravings of this and other Howard tombs are in Hawes' *Framlingham*, ed. Loder.

3 *Rot. Cur. Framlingham*, 1 and 2 P. and M., etc., Hawes, p. 123. He was born March 10th, 1536.

4 *Dict. of Nat. Biography*, xxviii., p. 70.

5 *Life of Elizabeth*, A.D. 1572.

Through the forethought of Queen Elizabeth, arrangements were made to secure that his son Philip, first Earl of Arundel of the Howard line, should not lose all benefit to be derived from the estate, as far as was compatible with the legal situation created by his father's attainder; but this forethought ceased when he fell into disfavour. In 1569 the duke had granted a lease of the castle and manor of Framlingham for twenty-one years to William Dixe and two others; and in 1579, before it had expired, the queen, as lady of the manor, granted in lieu thereof a fresh lease for twenty-one years to William Dixe and another, who in turn either sublet it or assigned the lease of it in 1587 to Edward Cantrell, John Holdich, and two others.[1] That this was a friendly arrangement is shown by the names. The family of Holdich had been connected with Framlingham Castle in various official capacities for at least three generations under successive Howards, and in an indenture of 1580 Philip, Earl of Arundel, William Dixe, and William Cantrell are associated together in regard to an entirely different matter.[2] It is practically certain, therefore, that they were friends and possibly nominees of the earl. This is borne out also by a memorandum[3] relating to the question raised "heretofore" by "the cunning malice of Mr. Buxton," who was steward of the manor from 1577 to 1590, and who in 1591 received a grant of one hundred and twenty acres of pasture in Badingham, Dennington, and Framlingham, and of a house built thereon, "sometime the inheritance of one Falstaff."[4] Buxton had argued that the words "the manor and demesnes" in the lease did not include the park of five hundred and forty acres. It was pointed out in reply that the lease was granted as "a great favour towards

1 Hawes, pp. 140, 161, 169.
2 June 24th, 22 Elizabeth. *Salisbury MSS.*, pt. iv., p. 107.
3 *Lansdowne MS.* 106, art. 45, cited in Green's *Framlingham*, pp. 227-9; *cf. Salisbury MSS.*, pt. iii., p. 266, and pt. iv., pp. 107, 163.
4 *Salisbury MSS.*, pt. iv., p. 107.

the bettering of the estate of the late earl"—the word "late" applying doubtless to the attainder brought about by his condemnation in 1589, not to his death in 1595—and that it could not be meant that he should have the castle, "the chief house of his ancestors," without the park. The memorandum is incidentally of interest as showing that the lessee had to incur, among other disbursements incumbent upon him, the cost of providing food for four hundred deer in the park, twenty-seven head of cattle, and eleven horses, besides paying ten pounds a year for repairs to the castle, twenty-four shillings for alms to the poor, and fees of five pounds to the keeper of the castle and sixty shillings and tenpence to the keeper of the park. Any profits went to the lessee, presumably for Arundel's benefit. In November, 1591, when various arrangements were in progress in connection with Arundel's property on account of his attainder a couple of years earlier, the queen granted a lease of Framlingham to her cousin, Sir George Carey, afterwards the second Lord Hunsdon, to take effect on the expiry of the previous lease to Holdich and others.[1] The terms of the lease, which includes the rents of assize and rights over the Hundred of Loes, "in as ample form as any Duke of Norfolk possessed or ought to have possessed them," deserve special attention owing to the fact that the great Sir Edward Coke had in the previous year been appointed steward of the manor of Framlingham, and doubtless had some responsibility for the wording. It may be noted that it was Arundel's assignee who in 1584 presented Thomas Dove, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, Queen Elizabeth's "Dove with silver wings," to the living of Framlingham.

The use to which Framlingham was put about this

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[1] *State Papers*, 1591, p. 129; Hawes, pp. 413, 414. The rent stated is £110 10s. 6d.

time as a place of confinement for recusants[1] calls for a brief retrospect of the part played by the castle during the religious persecutions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. William Woodford, the Franciscan friar who resided in the castle in the time of Margaret, Countess of Norfolk, in the latter part of the fourteenth century, had directed against the Wycliffites the weapons of purely intellectual controversy; but in 1429, when the Lancastrian zeal for the execution of the statute De Haeretico Comburendo was at its height, we hear of John Waddon, a priest, and two other Lollards being committed to the custody of the then Duke of Norfolk at Framlingham. After a lapse of rather more than a hundred years another Duke of Norfolk introduces the Bill of the Six Articles, directed against religious innovation; whilst in the same reign the monks of the Charterhouse, founded by the husband of a former lady of Framlingham, are to be found among the chief sufferers at the hands of the innovators. The arrest of Bishop Ridley at Framlingham in 1553 calls to mind the fate he incurred two years later; and an echo of the Marian persecution may be noted in the entry in the Framlingham manorial records that in 1558 it was stated, in answer to the usual articles of enquiry, that John Capon and certain others had fled to distant parts on account of their religious opinions, and had incurred by their absence the forfeiture of their lands and tenements.[2] In the reign of Queen Elizabeth religious intolerance seeks victims of another type. Many of the leading families of the county are to be found among the imprisoned recusants. Philip, Earl of Arundel, the attainted possessor of Framlingham, dies rather than deny the ancient faith, and Framlingham itself becomes a place of imprisonment for recusant priests. One of them, Thomas Bluet, writes in March,

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1 *Acts of Privy Council*, 1580, p. 82; *State Papers*, 1602, pp. 167, 216; *Second Rep. Hist. M.S.S. Com.*, pt. vii., pp. 299, 302.

2 *Rot. Cur. Framlingham*, 5 and 6 P. and M., Hawes, p. 124.

1602, describing how the keeper of Wisbeach Castle obtained leave from Council to transfer thirty-six of their number to Framlingham, on the plea that some of the nobles of that province so favoured the priests that he could not keep them as strictly as ordered. They were "fastened like rogues in couples with manacles, and led by thirty soldiers," who were, however, ultimately dismissed on the word of honour of two of the principal priests that they would all be at the new prison on the day fixed. "Accordingly," he proceeds, "we all arrived on the fifth day, but found the castle, which had not been inhabited for eighty years,[1] ruinous, and therefore the keeper was obliged for two months to place us out in different villages." Bluet's letter is also of interest on account of its complaints of the proceedings of Father Parsons, the Jesuit, "for which the English Catholics are punished."[2] On July 6th of the same year the Bishop of London sends to Cecil lists of such "priests and obstinate recusants" in prison in London as he thinks should be sent to Framlingham.[3]

James I., shortly after his accession, determined to restore to the Howards certain portions of their Suffolk inheritance. On the 27th of June, 1603, he granted by letters patent to Thomas, Lord Howard de Walden, soon afterwards created Earl of Suffolk, second son of the fourth Duke, and to Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton, son of the poet Surrey and brother to the fourth duke, the castle and manor of Framlingham, together with the other manors, lands, and tenements in the county enumerated in the deed. In view perhaps of the difficulty raised some years previously in connection with the wording of the lease to Dixe,

1 Yet in the previous year, August 9th, 1601, William Alabaster's letter of complaint to Cecil, on behalf of himself and his fellow prisoners, with respect to the high rate of their commons and chambers, is endorsed Framlingham Castle (*Salisbury MSS.*, pt. xi., p. 329). But this does not prove that they occupied the castle itself.

2 *Cal. State Papers*, 1602, p. 167.

3 *Ibid.*, 1602, p. 216.

separate and explicit mention is made of "the whole of our park at Framlingham, otherwise Framlingham ad Castrum, in the aforesaid county of Suffolk, with its rights, members, and all its appurtenances," and also of five woods in Framlingham and Saxsted. The timber from these woods continued to be used for many years in connection with the navy,[1] and Evelyn, in his *Discourse on Forest Trees*, remarks that Framlingham was celebrated for producing the loftiest and most magnificent oak trees perhaps in the world. In May, 1605, Henry Howard, whose connection with Framlingham is marked by the annual payment provided out of moneys left by him for the purpose of keeping in repair the tomb of his parents, the Earl and Countess of Surrey, and who survives in Bacon's eulogium as "the learnedest councillor in the kingdom," handed over his moiety of the estate to his nephew and co-grantee, the Earl of Suffolk. No attempt was made by the latter to restore the castle, his building energy being concentrated on Audley End. Both uncle and nephew had been restored in blood by Acts of Parliament passed in Queen Elizabeth's reign—the former in 1559, the latter in 1584; whilst Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel, only son of the last possessor of Framlingham, was not restored in blood until April, 1604, the year after King James's grant. Had it not been for this delay, and had the property been granted to Arundel instead of Suffolk, the subsequent history of Framlingham Castle might have been very different, as it is probable that the friend of Camden, Cotton, Spelman, and Selden would have done his best to preserve a fabric so full of historic interest if it had come into his hands. This is, however, a hypothesis, for in May, 1635, Theophilus Howard, second Earl of Suffolk, who had succeeded to the estates on the death of his father nine years before, sold Framlingham for £14,000 to Sir Robert Hitcham of

1 *State Papers*, 1636-7, p. 397; 1670, pp. 467, 483, 492.

Levington and his feoffees. Sir Robert Hitcham was an eminent lawyer, who had been Attorney-General to Anne of Denmark, the Queen of James I., and afterwards (as is stated in his epitaph in Framlingham Church) the king's senior Serjeant-at-Law and often Judge of Assize, and he had at various times represented the boroughs of West Looe, King's Lynn, and Orford in Parliament. He held a manorial court in person at Framlingham on July 29th, 1635,[1] but died in August of the following year, leaving a will, dated a few days before his death, in which he bequeathed his recent purchase to the Master and Fellows of Pembroke Hall, his own college at Cambridge; and provided that the "castle, royalties, rents of tenure, with the mere and other fishponds, the advowson of the church, the Hundred of Loes, and the fairs and markets therein," should be held for the good of the college; whilst the demesnes of lands of the manors, and all other lands and hereditaments forming part of the purchase, were to be devoted to certain pious, charitable, and educational uses connected with Framlingham, Debenham, Coggeshall, and Levington. In the event of Pembroke Hall declining the legacy, it was to pass to Emmanuel College. The castle, save the stone buildings, was to be pulled down, and the materials used for the construction of alms-houses and for other objects specified; and thus it came to pass that the surveyor's accounts for 1656 contain certain items referring to the partial demolition effected at that time,[2] calling to mind the more complete destruction of the earlier structure as recorded in the Pipe Rolls four hundred and eighty years previously. The provisions of the will gave rise to considerable diversity of interpretation and to prolonged Chancery suits affecting the various interests, and on March 20th, 1653, an ordinance

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1 *Rot. Cur. Framlingham*, 11 Car. I., Hawes, p. 203; Green's *Framlingham*, p. 107.

2 Green's *Framlingham*, p. 12.

was issued by order of "His Highness the Lord Protector and his Council," bearing on its title-page the arms of the Commonwealth, consisting of two shields in a circle, the one containing St. George's cross for England and the other the harp for Ireland, for the purpose of settling and confirming the arrangements devised by Sir Robert Hitcham, and setting at rest doubtful points.[1] Some obscure questions still remained to be adjusted at a later date. In 1662 a Bill was introduced, but dropped,[2] and apparently in lieu thereof an order for licence to the Master and Fellows of Pembroke Hall to receive Framlingham in mortmain[3] was regarded as sufficient confirmation of Oliver Cromwell's ordinance without a special Act of Parliament. The first treasurer appointed by Pembroke Hall dates from 1665, and the Master and Fellows do not appear as lords of the manor in the court rolls until 1667;[4] and in 1685 a dispute, ultimately settled in favour of the college, arose as to certain alleged rights of the Dean and Chapter of Ely over the Hundred of Loes.[5] But, in spite of all this, the historic interest of the castle comes to an end with the ordinance of 1653, and with it must close the present study, the scope of which, being confined to the historical associations of the castle itself, cannot embrace the many other points of interest connected with the church and parish of Framlingham.

It is necessary, however, to add a few words with regard to some of the tombs in Framlingham Church in so far as they are connected with the castle. It is true that the earlier lords of Framlingham have no resting-place there. The Bigods, Thomas of Brotherton, the last two dukes of the Mowbray line, and the first two dukes of the Howard line, were all buried at

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1 Printed in Hawes, pp. 419-430.
2 *Seventh Rep. Hist. MSS. Com.*, 70; *House of Lords*, xi., 433, 5, 8.
3 *State Papers*, 1662, p. 385.
4 Green's *Framlingham*, p. 105.
5 Hawes, ed Loder, pp. 407-417; Green's *Framlingham*, pp. 82, 105.

Thetford; but at the dissolution of the monasteries the body of Thomas Howard, the second duke, was removed to Framlingham, though there is some doubt whether it remained there finally or in the Howard chapel at Lambeth. But in Framlingham Church may still be seen the tombs (1) of Thomas Howard, the third duke, who died in 1554, and of his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham;[1] (2) of Henry, Earl of Surrey, and his wife, Frances, daughter of John de Vere, fifteenth Earl of Oxford;[2] (3) of Surrey's sister, Mary, and her husband, Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, natural son of Henry VIII;[3] (4) of the first two wives of the fourth duke—Mary, daughter of Henry Fitzalan, twelfth Earl of Arundel, and Margaret, daughter of Thomas, Lord Audley of Walden; (5) of Elizabeth, the infant daughter of the fourth duke by his second wife; and (6) of the last of the private possessors of the castle, Sir Robert Hitcham. Some of these tombs have already been mentioned in these pages, and elaborate descriptions are to be found elsewhere.[4] The motto, "By the grace of God I am what I am," on the collar of the effigy of the third duke arrests attention, containing as it does a reference to his marvellous escape from execution in 1547; and the beautiful and stately tomb of Surrey, that Marcellus of the Howards, though the inscription contains not a single word about his poetic gifts, recalls to the literary mind the fact that he it was who acclimatized the sonnet in England, and first exhibited the value and capacity of that form of blank verse which became later on so potent an instrument in the hands of Marlowe, Shakespeare, and Milton. The chancel itself, in which

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1 See *Suffolk Inst. Arch.*, iii., pp. 340-357.

2 See pp. 151, 153-4.

3 The fullest memoir of him is by J. G. Nichols, in vol. iii. of the *Camden Miscellany*.

4 Hawes, pp. 295, *sqq.*, with engravings; Green, pp. 130, *sqq.*, *Suffolk Inst. Arch.*, *loc. cit.*, and sundry Guide Books.

these tombs and monuments are contained, belongs to the time of the third duke, as is stated in the survey of Edward VI. The whole scene, therefore, carries the spectator back to the sixteenth century, not, that is, to the dawn of the castle's history, or even to the noontide of its splendour, but to a twilight in which may still be discerned something of the mingled greatness and pathos of its career.

THE STORY OF THE SUFFOLK SCHOOLS

By L. P. Steele Hutton

IF teachers at the present day still find it irksome to keep registers and write reports, we can well understand why their predecessors have left such scanty records. Few indeed had the historic imagination of Edward Leeds, headmaster of Bury when that school removed to its new quarters in 1605, who collected the Latin verses made by the boys in honour of the occasion and kept them, saying that "it may seem ridiculous to the present age that they should be here preserved, but to a future age perhaps not so." The "future age" thanks him for this and other services; for while we sympathise with the hard-working men who found no time to follow this good example, it is with a groan of self-pity that we turn to the arduous task of piecing together such evidence as is attainable. National records must be searched for charters of foundation, wills, grants, inquisitions for endowments, reports of Commissioners under the Chantries Acts for evidence of the closing or continuance of certain schools in the sixteenth century, Chancery proceedings for the disastrous litigation which so frequently emptied or closed a school without settling the point at issue, episcopal visitations for reports which were, as a rule, made only when things went wrong, churchwardens' books and vestry minutes

for elections of masters and free scholars and for expenditure connected with the teaching staff or the buildings, college matriculation rolls for names of pupils, besides a host of other records, such as those of Ship Money and Hearthtax payments, not directly connected with the school, but frequently containing the only positive evidence of its existence during certain periods. The miscellaneous nature of the documentary evidence is due very largely to the fact that grammar schools were founded in various ways, and consequently differed from the very beginning as regards governance, endowment, type of master and status of pupils, so that though all were, technically speaking, "grammar schools," the kind of education given varied considerably.

The most important grammar schools in early days were those attached to episcopal sees, though in one or two places (Bury St. Edmunds, for example) the schools connected with colleges of secular priests ran them very closely both as regards date of foundation and standard of instruction given; in the case of the flourishing Saxon town of Thetford, we suspect the existence of a school before the town became a bishop's seat, but in the absence of positive evidence we can only state this as a "reasonable probability" and begin our account of the school with the residence of a bishop in the place.

If we are to accept Bede's statement as trustworthy, and if, further, we may identify his "Dumnoc" (the residence of Bishop Felix) with Dunwich, there is no little reason for believing that the grammar school of that place should claim priority over all other Suffolk foundations and take rank among the earliest schools in all England. Moreover, the passage in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* referred to is the first record of a school's foundation which we possess, so that, provided we can grant so many "ifs"—and the identification of Dumnoc, in particular, is a debatable point—our history of education in Suffolk will begin about 631 or very soon after.

Then comes a blank. We hear no more about a school in Dunwich until 1083, nearly 500 years later. During that interval, though half the town had been washed away, the number of burgesses had almost doubled itself and there were three churches for the one which was sufficient in the days of Edward the Confessor. Reasonably, then, we may conclude that the grammar school shared in the general prosperity, and that when Robert Malet granted, as part of the endowment to his new priory, *scolas eciam eiusdem ville*, it was the ancient foundation of St. Felix which he made over to the canons. Whether our identification is justifiable or not is now, however, purely a matter of academic debate. The fortunes of the school were henceforth bound up with those of the alien priory, and both institutions must have perished at the dissolution of the monasteries, if, indeed, either of them managed to survive into the sixteenth century. Grammar teaching must have been a superfluity long before that date in the rapidly decaying town.

Far different is the history of Thetford Grammar School, which we can safely date as founded very soon after the removal of the East Anglian see to that place in 1075. When the see was again transferred, in 1094, to Norwich, the school passed, along with the church of St. Mary, into the hands of the Cluniac monks. On their removal to new quarters outside the town, Bishop Herbert Losinga, then on rather bad terms with that Order, took the governance of the school out of their hands and rendered it into those of Dean Bund, to whom he, at the same time, granted the monopoly of grammar teaching in Thetford—probably the earliest instance on record of that preferential treatment in England which was a feature of mediæval education.

I have already referred to Bury St. Edmunds as probably an early foundation. Under King Edmund (941-946) a college of secular priests was settled here, and we know that, in such an institution, a grammar

school would be as necessary as a chapel and a refectory, and quite as likely to be taken for granted, and therefore to be unmentioned in official documents. At some later date, difficult to determine owing to the doubtful authenticity of certain charters, the management of the school passed into the hands of the monks who had replaced these canons and whose abbot had been given episcopal powers. The earliest mention of the school is about 1181, when two short passages in Jocelin's chronicle give us quite a surprising amount of information. It not only existed then, but had been the educational nursery of Abbot Samson himself, who was one of the free scholars. The school was held neither in the abbey nor in its precincts, but in the town, was taught by a secular clerk, and was attended by secular scholars, who, "whether able or not," were compelled to pay a penny or half-penny twice a year towards the rent of the building. Abbot Samson presented a stone house (probably bought as a bargain from one of the Jews whom he was then expelling from Bury) to the school, and eighteen years later gave it a small endowment.

The number of cathedral schools in any diocese is necessarily very limited, and quite conceivably an isolated county might not be able to boast of one at all. That Suffolk has had two is due to the shifting of the episcopal see from Dunwich to Thetford, still the circumstance is sufficiently curious in the case of this comparatively small county. But the education of the county did not long depend upon these schools alone. The collegiate movement which had been initiated on a small scale in Saxon times had a remarkable revival in East Anglia during the fourteenth century. Raveningham College, in Norfolk, was founded in 1343 and was re-incorporated as Mettingham College, in Suffolk, in 1382. Meantime colleges had been instituted at Campsey Ash (1347), Wingfield (1362), Sudbury (1375), followed by the fifteenth-century foundations of Stoke-by-Clare and

Denardiston. All this took place, as Dr. Raven points out, at a date when Oxford and Cambridge numbered ten colleges between them.

Throughout all England the existence of a Collegiate Church seems to involve that of a grammar school, even when the original charter does not expressly provide for it. The character of the teaching must have varied very much indeed, being at its best in Mettingham, and degenerating at Stoke-by-Clare into the elementary teaching alone considered necessary for the five choristers there. Mettingham and Wingfield were the great boarding schools of the fifteenth century for Suffolk; their endowments were more liberal than those of other foundations, their buildings were better, and they consequently felt the pinch of bad times at a slightly later date than less well-provided establishments. We can construct a very good picture of the mediæval boarding schoolboy from the regulations in force at some of these colleges, and this has been already done in a most interesting manner by Dr. J. Raven in the Transactions of the Suffolk Archæological Society.

The classes seem to have been of two kinds, corresponding more or less to our elementary and secondary departments. There were the choristers, little tonsured boys, who began as abecedarians and advanced to the technical studies of "priksong" and illumination. We can imagine the children bending over the translucent cover of the "horn-book" which protected the letters and simple words from their dirty little fingers, while the abecedarius stood over them with his palmer or pancata somewhere handy for idle youngsters. This wooden instrument of punishment, with its central metal disc pierced with a hole, could give quite an unpleasant whack to small hands when brought down upon them by the string attached to it. In Scotland schoolboys still speak of getting "palmies," although the "tawse" long ago supplanted the earlier weapon. The boys must have turned

with pleasure from the work of the "lecture" or reading school to that of the song school. They then learnt plain song and priksong, and those who could write well in the elaborate book-hand of the day were allowed to revel in vermilion and blues and greens, and to make beautiful initial letters stiff with gold and wonderful in fantastic design.

This was the complete course of education at Stoke-by-Clare, where the five "well-bred" choristers were provided for at a cost of 5 marks *per annum* for food and clothing, and where the resident master received 40s. a year "for his trouble." Holidays of any length are more or less a modern, not to say Protestant, institution. Certainly at colleges the Church festivals afforded the only vacations for master and pupils in early times, and they must have been far more disorganising to work, while at the same time far less beneficial to the worker, than the modern arrangement.

At Mettingham, Wingfield and Sudbury more advanced teaching was also to be had, and these colleges were, in their best days, along with the episcopal schools, the regular feeders of the universities. Oxford was not neglected by the deans of these secondary schools, but Cambridge lay more conveniently situated, and as time went on a regular connection was established by means of exhibitions and scholarships between this university and the schools of Suffolk generally. The universities did not then, of course, teach Latin at all. It was the mother-tongue of all scholars, and a thorough colloquial knowledge of it was expected from entrants at either Oxford or Cambridge. Various relics of this may be seen at the present day. Only in the nineteenth century did the Edinburgh medical student stop writing his M.D. thesis in Latin, and both examiner and candidate relapse into an English *viva voce*. Only some thirty years ago did professors at Leyden cease lecturing in Latin, and it is scarcely five years ago since I saw Latin notices

Wingfield Castle.

of "rooms to let" hanging in the lodging-house windows of that quaint little town. At the present day, in many a university, Latin is the tongue employed at every ritual, so much so that the use of English for the graduation ceremonial at London or Manchester gives the alumnus of an older university something of a shock. Latin was therefore the language prescribed for use in the "secondary department" of the Suffolk colleges, where the boys were, of course, destined for the Church, then the only career open to a man whose brains were better than his muscles. Not that this really limited their choice very seriously. Holy orders then opened up the way to all the great offices of State as well as to high ecclesiastical preferment, while educational posts of every description, chantries and many other positions of comparative unimportance, afforded a livelihood to the necessitous or the slow-witted. The profession of medicine alone seems to have been almost entirely outside the scope of a Churchman's career.

The young collegiate clerks were called *confratres* and were rather older than the *choristæ*, but considering the youthfulness of the average M.A. in the Middle Ages, the *confratres* cannot have been much more than children. At Wolsey's College of St. Peter, Ipswich, they are, indeed, called children, just as at the Scottish universities we find "bairnies" used officially for the students. These boys began work about the same hour as the others, namely 5 a.m., each probably taking in turn the task of rousing the rest from sleep. Neglect to speak Latin was followed by corporal punishment, so frequently administered with considerable brutality that one of Wolsey's injunctions to the master of St. Peter's College states that "the tender youth is not to be treated with severe blows, or threatening faces or any kind of tyranny. For by injustice of this kind the keenness of their intelligence is often extinguished, or to a great extent blunted." We recognise the imaginative development of the humanist in this, the power which enabled men of

the Renaissance to enter into the spirit of bygone centuries and—what was far more difficult—to understand the difficulties of childhood, and so to pave the way for true education. Wolsey and Colet are of one mind here, and although the schoolroom was not till much later the happy and busy workroom that it has since become, still the first steps had been taken, and Pestalozzi, Rousseau, Frœbel, and Herbart were only a matter of time.

The master who taught these boys was called the *grammaticus*, and was usually a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge licensed by the bishop for that particular diocese. The course of study lasted about three years.

Such were the collegiate schools of Suffolk, which by a slight turn of fortune's wheel might have developed as did those of Cambridge or Oxford; as is well known, however, nothing but a lucky twist in the right direction saved the latter from the fate of Mettingham and Wingfield.

It is, of course, an exploded fallacy that the mediæval schoolmasters were generally monks. Certainly the history of Suffolk education goes far to prove the contrary. None of the schools yet mentioned was under monastic control. Monastic schools most certainly did exist in the county. There is a tradition that the Benedictines of Hoxne increased their revenues there by the school they kept in the thirteenth century, and that they had always two free scholars, chosen from the poor of the town. Eye Priory clothed and educated four poor boys, and others, doubtless, did charitable work of the same sort. Butley Priory, founded in 1171, also did similar work; and Bury Abbey had its "internal" school in addition to, and quite distinct from, the public grammar school, although the abbot certainly had the collation of the latter. The internal school was intended for the novices of the monastery, and its history is the blankest of all scholastic records. The bishop's visitations

give us some information when things went wrong, but when, as in the case of Bury, both the episcopal and archidiaconal authority were vested in the abbot, we lose even this means of knowing what went on within the walls of the great abbey. Both Butley and Bury sent, as did St. Peter's Priory, Ipswich, promising scholars to the universities, but we cannot tell what proportion these bore to the numbers actually in the school, and some certainly of the students were maintained at Oxford or Cambridge by their relations (as in the case of Brother Thomas Orford of Butley in 1514) or by special endowments (as in the case of Mary Pakenham's four exhibitions for Bury Abbey), and not by the monastery itself. Generally speaking, we may say that the education given by the monks was confined to their own novices, and probably did not reach such a high standard as that of the good collegiate school.

Another type of pre-Reformation school was that connected with a chantry or a gild, and these were very numerous in Suffolk. The exact origin of these schools is not easy to trace. The chantry certificates frequently do not reveal the name of the founder, and no school is mentioned unless it still existed or had only recently died out. But it seems to have been a general principle that any chantry or stipendiary priest who had time to spare should devote it to grammar teaching.

The most notable of the gild schools in Suffolk was the song school kept by the Dus Gild, or Gild of the Translation of St. Nicholas, a corporation consisting of twelve (*douze*) parish priests, which held considerable property. The school at Eye originated in the lands and tenements put (at some date unmentioned in the chantry certificate) in feoffment by John Fluke and others "for the finding of a scolemaister in Eye for ever." The foundation must be older than 1509, for the will of William Gale, proved in that year, provided an endowment of Eye scholars at Caius College, Cambridge.

The "grete and populous towne" of Clare benefited from the school taught by the priest of the Gild of St. John the Baptist, the endowment for which was furnished in 1445-6 by Richard, Duke of York, and lord of the honour of Clare. Long Melford, under the will of Robert Harset, became possessor of a school-house probably before the foundation, in 1495, of John Hill's chantry there. How soon grammar teaching was connected with it we cannot exactly say. It was certainly carried on before 1548, according to the chantry certificate, and Sir John Clopton's bequest to "sad priests and virtuous to sing a trental for me and to find virtuous scolers to scole" must have been an addition to this original endowment.

The ultra-Protestant Government of Edward VI. made short work of these chantry schools, many of which must have been doing good service in a quiet parochial way, the "sad priest" doubtless finding it pleasanter and less monotonous to develop the young fresh minds of the children than to sing an unending series of masses for the souls of men and women who had been dead for centuries.

Besides these recognised and clearly defined types of pre-Reformation schools, there were others of an almost piratical nature. Numerous licenses were issued in every diocese to abecedarians, or reading schoolmasters, and as the hall mark of a university degree became more common, a struggle ensued between the graduate teachers and their less fortunate colleagues. Continually do we come across instances of the non-graduate (who may have been the better teacher) trespassing upon what the university man regarded as his monopoly, the teaching of Latin grammar. The educational policy of the Church was one of protection, and the petition of the *rector scolarum* or the *grammaticus* against his rival always ended in the restriction of the latter to elementary teaching. The earliest known case of the kind in Suffolk (and here

East Anglia once more leads England) occurred at Thetford in 1114, when Bishop Herbert Losinga confirmed the Dean in his schoolmastership, and ordained that "no such school shall be held there except his own or any which he shall allow." The injunction was here aimed against the Cluniac monks, who had taken over the old cathedral school a few years previously, and whose claims to it, as well as to much else, were now protested against and disallowed. The latest example of the kind for Suffolk is to be found in 1667, when the grammar schoolmaster of Hadleigh obtained an injunction against the teacher of Alabaster's elementary school, forbidding him to interfere in his work or to participate in his pay. In the period between these two cases we find many instances of the monopoly exercised by the grammar schoolmaster. About 1290, the Abbot of Bury (acting with episcopal authority) denounced those "presumptuous persons' rash audacity" who had set up "adulterine schools" and pretended to a Latinity sufficient for teaching advanced pupils. Excommunication was the penalty for all (master and pupils alike) who disobeyed this injunction. A little later, John Harrison of Bury was debarred from teaching even the elements of grammar. A step in advance of this was taken by the General Court of the Borough of Ipswich in 1476-7, when they ordained that the grammar schoolmaster should be given "jurisdiction and governance of all scholars within the liberty and precinct of this town," excepting only the "petties" and the song-school pupils. At Beccles, in 1396, Master Reginald Leche was given a similar monopoly of grammar teaching by the chamberlain of Bury Abbey, and the master of the Bury song school was also protected in the same way from the free competition of others who had dared to teach boys the psalter at various parish churches or chapels in the diocese.

Turning now to the more intimate history of these

pre-Reformation schools, two questions naturally arise—What was taught under the heading grammar? and how was the master paid for his work? We find various classifications of pupils given in school documents, some of the most detailed being naturally those in the mandates against adulterine schools, which point out clearly what boys are to be regarded as the peculiar property of the grammar master. The lowest class consisted of the *grammaticuli* (often corrupted into *glomerelli*), the little grammarians who were working at declensions and conjugations and syntax in the old, old grammar of Donatus, compiled in the third century A.D., and the regular text-book of the mediæval schoolboy until superseded by Lily's in England and Buchanan's in Scotland. These pupils were sometimes called Donatists and occasionally, as at Ipswich, primarians. The "psalterians," who formed the next class, read the psalter (as their name implies), this portion of the Vulgate being chosen for utilitarian reasons. The highest class was that of the dialecticians, who made a beginning in formal logic, the subject with which the university curriculum then opened.

The extent to which these higher subjects were taught must have varied very greatly. Many of the novices in monastic schools would probably stick at the psalterian stage, and some of the smaller grammar schools which had grown out of gilds and chantries may never have reached it. The master at Beccles who taught two Mettingham clerks in 1403-4, during the litigatious removal of their college from Raveningham, must have known his business and may still have been the "Master" (*i.e.*, *Magister Artium*), Reginald Leche, who was licensed there in 1396. In the syllabus of Wolsey's Ipswich foundation we see the workings of the Renaissance spirit, making its scope far wider and more full of human interest. There were to be eight forms: the first and lowest learning the elements from Donatus; the second acquiring a colloquial

knowledge of Latin, supplemented by Lily's *Carmen Monitorium;* the third entering upon Lily's Grammar and studying Æsop and Terence, always with a view to conversational value; the fourth still plodding through Lily and enlivening their study with Vergil's romantic epic; the fifth read Cicero's *Select Letters*; the sixth, Sallust or Cæsar; the seventh began Horace and Ovid; and the eighth read other classics and the *Elegantiæ* of the great Renaissance scholar, Laurentius Valla.

The age at which boys reached these stages is an interesting point, and one not very easy to settle, for the conditions of modern education are misleading on one important point. We are apt to imagine a difference in age between the "upper school" boy and the university student which did not really exist, especially in the collegiate and monastic schools. When we call to mind that the friars, who in the fourteenth century enticed young Oxford students to join their Order, made use of apples as a bribe in some cases, it makes us realise the extreme youth of the undergraduate in those days. In 1358 a university statute forbade the Mendicants to receive as novices any youth under eighteen, and although this was annulled by Parliament in 1366, the king decreed in 1402 that no friar should admit to his Order any infant under fourteen without consent of the boy's legal guardians. The school years of a boy destined for the university must therefore have been considerably fewer than we are apt to imagine, even admitting that the poor children were plunged into grammatical abstractions at an age at which they would nowadays be still enjoying the tangibilities of object-lessons and kindergarten occupations. The entrance age at the university was, however, slowly raised as schools like Bury and Ipswich prospered and the educational standard improved, just as within the last few years in Scotland it has been raised two or three years owing to the more advanced work done in secondary schools In the case of

the great Suffolk schools just mentioned, the commercial prosperity of the towns enabled the municipal authorities and the various gilds to give valuable financial help, to supply a large number of pupils—all of whom, except the free scholars, paid fees—and to insist, by force of public opinion, on having good masters and thorough teaching. Owing, then, to economic causes, the story of these schools is a pleasant record of prosperity, and though the good example of Abbot Samson was not quickly followed at Bury, the school there flourished independent of benefactors.

The history of education in its economic aspect has still to be written, and here, again, modern conditions are apt to be misleading. Even at the present day a schoolmaster's salary is not magnificent, but in mediæval times, making all allowance for the change in the value of money, the profession was more poorly paid, and this was due in a large degree to the subsidised competition of monasteries and colleges. In the monastic school the teacher gave instruction as his daily service to the Order and with no thought of salary. The novices received instruction with no thought of fees; their studies were but a step in the life of religion. There was consequently strong inducement for parents to settle the question of education for their sons by making monks of them, and many a false guardian diverted funds entrusted to him to his own purposes and stopped his ward's inconvenient questions by entering him, as did the guardians of Erasmus, at a religious house. For any studious or delicate lad the life must have had its attractions. A simple monk had more than once sat on the throne of St. Peter, and many had attained European fame as diplomatists or preachers. For the lover of knowledge the monastic cell was a study, a laboratory, or even the antechamber to the university. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this last inducement was, owing to the close connection between the

mendicant Orders and the universities, particularly strong, and so in order to compete against this cheap system of education, fees in the public grammar schools had to be kept down.

In the chantry schools, again, the teaching work was carried on merely as an adjunct to the main purpose of the foundation; so much so, indeed, that the school was not generally mentioned in the deed of foundation, and we learn of its existence only casually. The clerk who sang mass daily for the soul of his benefactor had his living secured by this office and could afford to teach for the low fee which was all his rustic neighbourhood could afford, and many a boy thus received a good education without leaving home to attend one of the larger grammar schools. This cause must have operated very particularly in Suffolk and Norfolk, the land of chantries, where everyone could not afford the expense involved in keeping a boy at Mettingham or Wingfield, Bury or Ipswich. But while the good teaching at these celebrated schools attracted many pupils, and the numerous pupils enabled the authorities to offer a good salary and receive efficient teaching, other foundations were not so fortunate. In Sudbury the master of the external (not the collegiate) school received 10s. per annum with residence in a house which he had to repair himself. In Thetford, as late as 1586, the master received only £13 6s. 8d., and had house-room in the school. In the early days of Bury School itself, the scholars were ordered by Abbot Samson to pay 1d. or ½d. twice a year to the master, who also received thirteen swans as his maundy and presents in exchange for the cocks he supplied on Shrove Tuesday. By 1198 he was in receipt of 40s. a year, and later still was, in addition, boarded in the monastery and presented with a gown once a year. In 1585 he obtained a salary of £20, which rose to £24 by the end of the century. At Ipswich the fees were exceptionally high in the late fifteenth century,

the grammarians paying 10d., the psalterians 8d., and the primarians 6d. a year.

The Reformation, which was responsible for much not exactly beneficial to learning, was partly instrumental in raising the teacher's salary. Much was due to that general raising of the standard of living which was taking place in England, much also was the result of Renaissance lavishness wherever culture was concerned. The very movement for the suppression of monasteries had begun before there was any talk of a break with Rome, but still the fact remains that the wholesale abolition of these rivals placed the secular teacher in a much better position, even though monastic education in Suffolk, at least, was scarcely worth consideration for some time before this date.

The closing of the collegiate foundations removed one more well-endowed rival; the sweeping away of the chantries closed numerous local centres for grammar teaching. The schools which managed to survive the reign of Edward VI. benefited by an increased number of scholars, and in those which were then remodelled, or were actually new foundations, a larger proportion of the endowments were assigned to the master and the usher. Wolsey's short-lived Ipswich College had shown a good example in this respect; the resident master there had a salary of £15 6s. 8d., besides livery at 5s. per yard, while the first usher received £4 and the second £2, both being resident.

Such were the pre-Reformation schools of Suffolk, and the conditions under which masters taught and children learnt until the early sixteenth century. There is little doubt that education had got into a very backward state in England by that date. The new learning had found its way into Oxford and Cambridge with Grocyn, Linacre, Colet, Cheke, and the brilliant group which included Erasmus and Wolsey and More; the universities were imbued with a new life which directly

affected the education they imparted. But the movement was not widespread. From the outset it was opposed by the monastic Orders, and there was consequently no stirring of the dead bones in conventual schools. Indeed, as the university colleges grew in educational importance, the attractions of the cloister for the studious were diminished, and both monasteries and colleges in other localities suffered in consequence. They fell so low that revival by an infusion of the new spirit seemed hopeless, and men like Wolsey and Colet preferred founding entirely new institutions to subsidising old ones. In 1528 and 1529 many of the smaller priories of Suffolk were suppressed by a Bull of Clement VII., an act by which education lost nothing, and by which, indeed, it might have gained a good deal, for the endowment of Wolsey's Ipswich College was formed out of revenues thus confiscated. St. Peter's Priory had no master at all for the novices in 1514 or in 1526, and was probably no better supplied in 1528; its condition was typical of the rest.

But even the larger foundations were declining, as we learn from the episcopal visitations, which took place at intervals of about five years. At Butley in 1494 the *confratres* had no teacher to instruct them in grammar, and the priory then possessed only a song school. By 1514, however, things had mended a little. John of Thetford, one of the monks, could not answer the bishop's questions very fully because he had been absent from his monastery at the university, and a little later there is a certain Thomas of Orford among the brothers, a good grammarian and earnest student (*deditus literis*), whose relations were ready to pay his expenses at the university. The other monks interrogated owned that his companions were far below him in culture, and the bishop consequently ordered that Brother Thomas and Brother John were to go to Oxford. By 1526 the priory was again unrepresented at the university, and the bishop

insisted on its maintaining a scholar there. In 1532 Bishop Richard Nicke had to insist on provision for instruction in pricksong and grammar, and he renewed the injunction to maintain a member of the house at Oxford. The futility of these and other orders was, however, now realised, and the priory was dissolved in 1539. At Eye things were not in quite so disorganised a condition. The master seems merely to have lacked discipline, for the novices were attending very irregularly in 1514.

The days of the collegiate schools also were now numbered. In 1538 Sudbury College was dissolved. How far this was a loss to education we cannot exactly tell; but as there were no choristers there in 1532, and as the external school, founded by Dean William Wood in 1491, was left undisturbed (except in the matter of patronage), we can well believe that no great harm was done. Stoke-by-Clare College came to an end in 1548, but neither it nor the colleges at Campsey Ash and Denardiston had any claim to be regarded as secondary schools. In Thetford the school had apparently lapsed some time before the suppression of the deanery in 1540. Mettingham was closed in 1542, and Wingfield about the same time. The large endowments of Bury, including those of its school, passed into the king's hands, and it was not until 1550 that an order was made by the Court of Augmentations for the re-establishment of the grammar school. With the exception of Bury and Sudbury, where the schools, though connected with ecclesiastical foundations were external to them, there was not a single monastic or collegiate school left in Suffolk after 1548.

We have now to consider the fate of the chantry and gild schools of the county. Of its two ex-cathedral schools one had vanished with the disappearance—physical and economic—of the city to which it was attached; the other had been suppressed. But the

numerous stipendiary and gild priests continued to sing their daily masses and also to "teache oone gramer scole," forming a wonderfully efficient supply for the school-going population of the county. Henry VIII.'s Chantries Act was passed in 1546, but the powers it conferred on commissioners were only those of surveying and reporting. In any case, the Act would have had little practical result, for the authority given by Parliament to the king to enter into possession of chantries where the funds were being misappropriated or misapplied was limited to Henry's lifetime, and on his death, early in 1547, the Act lapsed automatically before it had come fully into play.

Far otherwise was it with the Chantries Act of Edward VI., which struck at the essential idea of the foundations, and not merely at abuses of it. All corporations, except craft gilds, municipalities, and hospitals, were endangered. Schools attached to any of the institutions inspected, which were mentioned in the "foundation ordinance or the first institution thereof," and which were actually in existence, were to keep their endowments.

All this reads quite rationally and fairly, and yet in Suffolk, as elsewhere, it worked with disastrous results to education. In many—we might even say in most—cases the school was a "bye-product" of the chantry or gild, and was not mentioned in the foundation deed. Again, while grammar schools which were by rare good fortune mentioned there, and which were still in operation in 1547 (both necessary qualifications by the Act), were allowed to continue, no mercy was shown to the song schools and reading schools. The deprivation of elementary education and of the rudiments of music in rural districts was a blow from which England has only recently begun to recover, and that blow fell very severely upon Suffolk.

Evil days have more than once fallen upon education

since the sixteenth century, but we can scarcely imagine a blacker outlook than that of 1550. Schools of almost every kind were either closed or in abeyance until the royal pleasure should be known, for the Chantries Act had not empowered commissioners to reorganise locally. Their work was done when they had locked the door and dismissed the master. The only surviving schools in Suffolk were practically those which could not be definitely associated with a religious foundation. Ipswich public school had a somewhat chequered career between the dissolution of Wolsey's College in September, 1530, and its new charter from Elizabeth in 1565. Henry VIII. is credited in this document with having refounded the school, but though certain of the forfeited revenues of Wolsey's College were earmarked for it about 1551, they did not find their way regularly into the school funds—salaries fell into arrears, there was a natural difficulty in securing masters, and the boys ran wild during each interregnum.

Hadleigh School, the manner and date of whose origin is obscure, is certainly older than 1382, when it was referred to by the Archbishop of Canterbury as "the grammar school of the town of Hadleigh," and seems to have survived the Edwardian massacre in virtue of the secular foundation these words would seem to imply. Its history from the fourteenth century is one long blank in the midst of which there stands out a single item of curiously personal information. John Boys, who entered St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1560, used, when a child, to walk four miles daily to attend classes there. At Eye the old chantry school, which had continued to Michaelmas, 1547, suffered from the unenlightened selfishness of the inhabitants, who appropriated the funds (net value £5 2s. 1d.) and retained them until 1556, when the commissioners restored them for educational purposes. In 1566 we learn from the "Constitutions of the Borough" that the school once

The Free School, Kelsale.

The Grammar School, Eye.

more existed and that the master's salary was £10, he being distinctly absolved from any obligation to give elementary instruction. In Long Melford the chantry school must have been spared, for as late as 1694 it was in receipt of Clopton's original grant. Sudbury has been already mentioned. In Lowestoft, where the chancel of the parish church had been used for teaching purposes long before the Reformation, and where in 1472 a grammar book chained to its desk was bequeathed for the use of the parish by John Gallion, secondary teaching may have been continued throughout these troublous times, but of this we cannot be certain. In any case, however, a reconstructive period was now beginning, and though we must ever lament over the needless ruin of many a useful foundation, it is with pride that the Suffolk man can look back upon the way in which his forefathers met the crisis and on the series of endowed grammar schools which they opened in the sixteenth century. But the great work was left to the patriotism of individuals; it lost advantages by the inevitable haphazard planting of the schools. In Suffolk, at least, the result was the over supplying of some districts and the leaving of others very inadequately equipped.

Again, while the grammar schools continued to feed the universities, and while a good, cheap, or even free education was available for any boy whose parents could afford to have him first properly grounded in English, there was very insufficient provision of elementary education among the poorer classes. In Suffolk, primary schools were opened at Wenhaston (1562), Stradbroke (1587), East Bergholt (1587), and East Stonham (1589) before 1600—far too few when we consider the population at that date. Even when the supply was doubled in the following century it was still unequal to the needs—we cannot say the demands—of the county. This hiatus in the educational provision

of England for the mass of the people has done much to give the two great universities (so open to students of every social grade in their mediæval days) that proverbial exclusiveness which differentiates them from the great Continental or Scottish universities. The loss to Suffolk, otherwise so intimately connected with the Cambridge colleges, must have been greater than we can realise. For England, generally, the effect has, of course, been the arrested development of national education and the practical monopoly by the well-to-do of any teaching beyond "the three R's" during several centuries. Many of the intellectual differences between the Scot and the Englishman of the poorer classes at the present day may be traced to this deadening influence.

Of the sixteenth century grammar schools, the most important in its own day was that of Sir Nicholas Bacon, at Botesdale, in 1561. Annot's School at Woodbridge (1577) lived scarcely a century. Boxford, which obtained its charter in 1596, and which had apparently been doing good work during the previous forty years, was never very large, nor could the grammar school of Bungay, founded in 1591, at all compare with Botesdale as regards numbers. The superiority of the latter was due mainly to Sir Nicholas Bacon's ample endowment, which instituted a £20 salary for the master and £8 (increased in 1566 to £10) for the usher, besides providing the necessary margin for school-house repairs. The number of boys was limited to 60, and the free scholars were to be preferably sons of poor men. As was usual in the schools in which Bacon had had a hand in framing the ordinances, archery was encouraged, and parents were obliged to furnish materials for its practice. There was one weak spot in Sir Nicholas's articles—this was the regulation by which the two governors held office for one year only and then retired after electing their successors. Even during this short term their power was very limited, the election of the schoolmaster being left

entirely in the hands of Bacon's heirs male. Naturally, the governorship was not a coveted post, and the irregular succession of these official inspectors and visitors led every now and then to mismanagement and disorder in the school itself. Still, it began well, and within ten years of its foundation was sending up boys to Cambridge. A notable feature of the school in these early days was the number of well-known Catholics educated there who proceeded thence to the university. After the uncompromising position assumed by the Pope in 1780, this stream of Catholic pupils ceased abruptly.

The smaller schools of Boxford and Bungay had an uneventful history in the sixteenth century. In 1596, when the former school received its first endowment and its charter, the appointment of both master and usher (the former to be "at least" an M.A.) was vested in thirty-seven governors mentioned by name. In Bungay the original school in the churchyard chapel had in 1580 been removed to its present site, the premises being granted to it by Lionel Throckmorten. The ordinances made in 1591 limited the boys to 50, unless an usher were provided, in which case the townspeople were to pay 5s. per child annually. Boys had been sent to Caius College before this date, and a connection with Emmanuel College was formed by placing the appointment in the hands of its Master and by the institution of the Mildmay scholarships. The value of these was in 1592 increased by Thomas Popeson, M.A., and this benefactor also left his landed property (after the decease of himself and his wife) to the college on their undertaking to pay £3 6s. 8d. annually to the schoolmaster and to maintain his residence rent-free and in good repair. The third endowment of the school was given in 1593 by Thomas Wingfield, who left it £170 in rents to be laid out for keeping two poor scholars at Cambridge. During the seventeenth century this very fortunate school was well represented at the university.

Annot's School at Woodbridge had a much shorter life than the other two, but retained its status for grammar teaching to the last. It was no lack of earnestness or ability on the part of the master which brought the school to a close. One of the most pathetic incidents of its latter days is the story of Robert Franklyn, whose studies came to an end when his master fell ill, and who, doubtless much disheartened, was then despatched by his relatives to a commercial school until the invalid teacher protested so vigorously from his sick bed that the boy was rescued from the distasteful career. The blow which put an end to the school was the loss of a lawsuit regarding the ownership of the premises. The "tenement called Woodes," now saw-mill premises in Theatre Street, was claimed by William Bearman, and his claim being allowed by law, he entered into possession of it, bequeathing it, on his death in 1668, to the poor. The school he had so fatally injured did not long survive him.

The seventeenth century saw the foundation of several well-known grammar schools in Suffolk. There was Stonham Aspall, established by the will of the Rev. John Medcalf, incumbent of the parish, in 1612, and there was Little Thurlowe, which Sir Stephen Soame "did firm found" in 1618, during his lifetime. Mendelsham School received its foundation endowment in 1618 from a certain Peter Duck. Thomas Ockeley left lands in trust to the burgesses of Aldeburgh for the same purpose in 1610, the bequest to become effective on the death of his son without issue. The school was incorporated by letters patent in 1638, but no mention is made of Thomas Ockeley. Indeed, the whole history of the school is very shadowy. The Municipal Corporations Commission goes so far as to doubt whether it ever really existed. Against this we have the record in the borough account books of the appointment of a schoolmaster in 1661.

Framlingham School had a more substantial existence. The castle and manor of Framlingham were devised by the will of Sir Robert Hitcham in 1636 to Pembroke College, Cambridge, and the revenue of the demesne lands was to be applied in part for the maintenance of a school, the rest being devoted to a workhouse. As these institutions were to be available for Debenham and Coggeshall also, the Framlingham people soon raised a protest against having the poor and the children of their neighbours "dumped" upon them in this manner, and on their petition coming before Cromwell in 1653, the Protector decided that three schools, one in each parish, should be established. After 1660 this ruling became void, and although in 1672 an Act re-established the sensible measure, the mischief had already been done. Still, the master advertising in the *Ipswich Journal* in 1769 proposed to teach Latin, Greek, and French. A further blow proved fatal, however, to Hitcham's foundation as a grammar school. In 1783 the Attorney-General decided that the ordinances of 1672 were not binding, and the Pembroke College trustees thereupon applied the funds entirely to elementary education.

Debenham was practically an elementary school from the outset. Gislingham Free School, founded in 1637 by John, Mary, and Edmund Darby, had a tradition of grammar teaching associated with it, but we have little positive evidence to support it. At what date Lavenham School was first opened we cannot exactly tell; it received its first known endowment from Richard Peacock in 1647, and is referred to in the *Ipswich Journal*, 1774, as the "Ancient Grammar School." It is an established fact that Lavenham boys went to Cambridge between these dates. At Needham Market, Sir Francis Needham, of Barking Hall, promised the townspeople to build and endow a grammar school, and died with his pledge unfulfilled. Sir Francis Theobald,

who then came into the property, seems to have given some rash undertaking to redeem his predecessor's word, and then to have regretted it and done nothing. But the school was needed, and its foundation was pressed upon Sir Francis with an urgency which he declared did "much dampe his cheerfulness in his donations." He was not to be hurried, however, and only by his will did the town become possessed of the Guildhall messuage and an annuity of £20 with which to keep it up as a school or a workhouse. The master was to be a Cambridge graduate "of competent learning in the tongues and grammar," he was to teach freely (except where parents could afford payment), and to repair the premises out of his salary.

The bequest was grudgingly made, and it is not surprising that Theobald's heirs neglected to pay the annuity and that consequently the school stood empty in 1674. In 1688 Mr. William Richardson, the master, was teaching grammar on a salary of £4 10s. 0d. without fees ("there not being any offered"), but had to confess to the Commission of Charitable Uses that he was not a graduate. This Commission compelled the Theobalds to vest the annuity in trustees, and then things went on more regularly. Between 1723 and 1727 the foundation was degraded into, first, an English, and then an industrial or workhouse school, but after that date resumed its old status as a grammar school. The master's salary rose to £20 in 1781 and increased gradually until, in 1811, it reached the magnificent total of £50. But the estate soon after fell in value, and the Commissioners of 1829 very reasonably declared that the endowment was too small for a regular grammar school, and proposed continuing it for elementary teaching only. In spite of this depressing report, the school steadily improved and justified the trustees in their greater faith. After a prosperous career throughout the early nineteenth century, it was reorganised under the

Endowed Schools Act in 1872, and at the present day is conducted as a public endowed secondary school—a remarkable instance of vitality in the struggle for educational existence which it is positively refreshing to meet with.

In striking contrast appears the school founded by William Cadge, a yeoman of Clare, in 1669, who left £10 a year for the teaching of English, Latin, and Greek to ten poor boys of the town. By 1818 we find that classics had long since passed out of the curriculum followed in the old schoolroom over the Market Cross, and the school itself is entirely ignored by the Schools Inquiry Commission.

Brandon School, founded by the will of Robert Wright in 1646, and Cavendish School, founded by the Rev. Thomas Gray and endowed by him in 1696 for fifteen free scholars, complete the list of seventeenth century foundations, with the exception of Seckford's School in Woodbridge, which was founded in 1661, when Thomas Marryot, Francis Burwell, and Dorothy Seckford gave, the first a copyhold messuage and a building in Well Street, and each of the two latter £5 annually for its maintenance. The nomination of free scholars was to be in the hands of these benefactors and their heirs male and in those of the "six chief inhabitants of Woodbridge"—a most ambiguous phrase promising future trouble and amply fulfilling this expectation.

In dealing with Seckford's School one feels on firm ground. From the outset the school had a substantiality which promised to outlast the century, and its good fortune in having as masters such capable teachers as Philip Chandler, M.A., who came from Ipswich in 1670, the son of the same name who took up his father's work in 1689, and Samuel Leeds, M.A., who followed them early in the eighteenth century, secured its welfare. Under these three teachers Woodbridge School took its place among the best in the county. The names of its

free scholars are usually to be found on the matriculation rolls of Caius and St. John's Colleges, and the fact that Ipswich boys followed the elder Chandler to Woodbridge speaks volumes for it and for him. When we find, shortly after, Bury boys leaving the well-known school of that town to "finish" at Botesdale under Mr. Samuel Maybourne, we begin to consider and to wonder how it fared with the older schools in their competition with the new. Certainly Maybourne was unique. He was master at Botesdale for fifty years, and sent twenty-three boys to Caius College alone, including his own three sons. Unfortunately for Suffolk, few of its schools can approach that record, but still the twelve new foundations were a serious rival to the great pre-Reformation institutions.

Bury had gone on prosperously under its 1550 charter, steadily feeding the universities with scholars of mature age. New statutes were made in 1583, and towards the end of the century at least one master, Edmund Coote, M.A., must have possessed great teaching capacity. He wrote and published *The English Schoolmaster*, a grammar which seems to have been based on sound educational principles and which went through thirty-seven editions during the next hundred years. John Dickinson became master in 1606, and educated, among the numerous pupils of his thirty years' tenure of office, Sir Simond d'Ewes, William Sancroft, the future archbishop, and John Gauden, the author of *Ikon Basilike*. Thomas Stevens, "the bulky divine," who succeeded him after a short interval, had an interesting personality; in an age when few could avoid holding strong political opinions, he was a staunch Cavalier, and this may have influenced him in his resignation of October, 1645. The numbers in the school went down immediately, and the following year was very critical. Thomas Lye, his successor, was dismissed on Lady Day, 1647, and Jeremy Welby, who followed, resigned

seventeen days after. He cannot have been disappointed with his salary, for that was £40, and the true cause, both for this resignation and for the six months' vacancy in the mastership which followed it, seems to have lain in the competition of Mr. Stevens's private school. In the governors' minutes, which record his re-election in September, 1647, it is stated that the school "is become much decayed and very few schollers left therein." How much of this was due to the local cause above indicated, and how much to the fact that many of the new grammar schools were now affecting the supply of boys from outside Bury itself, we cannot say. Both factors were undoubtedly at work, and the result was unquestionably evil for Bury High School. On returning to the mastership Mr. Stevens agreed "to use his utmost endeavoure to replenyshe the Hye schoole with many of his schollers which he now teachethe." By 1656 there were eighty-six pupils, and Stevens stuck to his post valiantly all through the Protectorate, much though it irritated his Cavalier and convivial temperament. We can sympathise with the hasty and poetic pedant who was obliged, for the sake of peace in his office, to take the boys with tolerable regularity, and what he probably considered intolerable frequency, to the parish church. He relieved his feelings in 1660 by arraying some thirty of his boarders in scarlet cloaks, and having restored the school, both as regards numbers and quality of teaching, to something of its former status, he once more retired from the mastership in 1662. Mr. Edward Leeds, who came next, ruled for forty years, and under him the school removed in 1665 to new quarters in Northgate Street; the statutes were revised and the maximum limit for pupils was raised first from 100 to 120 and then to 160. About the same time free education was confined to the town boys.

During the same period Ipswich School shows a record of steady progress on the old lines, the most important

master being Mr. Easton, who entered upon his office in 1616, and resigned to go to Botesdale (a significant move, for the salary was lower) in 1631. The most interesting pupil was Jeremy Collier, who was there from about 1663 to 1669, but who was not educated by his father, though the latter was certainly headmaster for a few months in 1663.

Hadleigh School, during this century, was tolerably prosperous, though we hear more of its pupils than of its masters. The former included William Alabaster, author of *Roxana*, and Joseph Beaumont, afterwards Master of Peterhouse and author of *Psyche*. The most important of the latter was William Hawkins, who not only wrote plays which were performed by his boys (that was common enough at this date), but whose lines Milton appreciated sufficiently to incorporate a few of them in *Paradise Lost* (Bk. viii., vers. 40-7). Beccles School has a quite uninteresting record for the century, though two future teachers (John Forby, licensed to teach in Beccles in 1667, and Richard Playter, master at Mendlesham in 1710) were numbered among its pupils. In 1692 the town authorities dispensed with an usher and raised the master's salary, on account of a decrease in the school numbers. Stoke-by-Clare School, too, was not in a very flourishing condition, largely owing to the irregular payment of the master's £10 salary, which formed part of Charles II.'s pension list after 1660. Before this date a fair number of scholars had been sent up to Caius, but the matriculations gradually diminished, and the school passed gently out of existence, probably in the latter half of the eighteenth century. It is scarcely fair, I think, to lay the whole blame of this extinction upon the shoulders of Edward VI., as is done by Mr. Leach (*Victoria County History of Suffolk*, ii., 340). He certainly confiscated the college endowment, but had the fixed salary of £10 been regularly paid, and had Cadge's foundation in Clare not entered into competition just at this critical point,

The Deanery, Hadleigh.

Stoke-by-Clare's ancient school might have weathered the storm. Still, the substitution of a fixed payment for a rent-charge or a real estate endowment was certainly a piece of criminal folly on the part of the Edwardian Commissioners of 1550.

The school at Long Melford seems very early in the seventeenth century to have lost status as a grammar school. There is no positive evidence that Latin was taught after 1620, though boys were sent up to Caius College from Long Melford until that date. But the decline in the teaching must have been due to quite natural causes, for the inhabitants were certainly interested in their school. In 1670 the Lady Chapel was converted into a schoolroom, and while the well-to-do presented large trees and the woodwork from disused pews for its fittings, the humbler parishioners lent horses and carts to further the work. School and endowments, however, had all disappeared by the close of the seventeenth century.

Sudbury and Stowmarket Schools were quite uninteresting, as far as we know, during the seventeenth century. Botesdale School, on the contrary, flourished under Mr. Easton and Mr. Maybourne. In Lowestoft Annot's School became involved in a Chancery suit and lost it in 1609, and in 1670 the school buildings (probably in the town-close by the east wall of the churchyard) were so dilapidated that a scheme was begun to unite the mastership with that of the school founded by Sir Thomas Allen. This gentleman was probably influenced by the fact that he held the lands which formed the endowment of Annot's School and that the master's salary was in arrears. Mr. Britten fought for his school and his own independent position. He spent his own money on a Chancery suit, which he had to relinquish, and finally resigned the mastership on receiving £100 from Sir Thomas. The school itself was continued in the "Town Chamber." We know little of actual grammar

teaching in Annot's School during this period, but Boxford and Bungay contributed steadily to the Cambridge Colleges. The school in the latter place was destroyed by fire in 1688, an incident commemorated by the inscription over the new entrance:—

> Exurgit laetum tumulo substriste cadaver
> Sic scola nostra redit clavior usta rogo.

In an evil moment Popeson's bequest was amalgamated with the town funds and lost to the school, but, thanks to the action of Emmanuel College and to the bequest of Robert Scales in 1728, the crisis was safely weathered.

If these numerous foundations of the seventeenth century affected each other and the older foundations economically, political and ecclesiastical causes had also worked from Reformation days onwards to complicate the difficulties of the situation. A long series of religious tests was now passed, of which an early example is the circular of Edmund of Norwich (issued in accordance with a mandate from Canterbury) for "a general examination of all schoolemasters, as well public as private," and for the removal of the "unsound," special enquiry being made into the education and upbringing of recusants' children. When James I. revived the stringent regulations against Catholics, and showed equally small mercy to other conscientious objectors to Anglican teaching, it was natural that these bodies should seriously consider the problem of education for their children. The Catholic pupils at Botesdale had accompanied the rest of the school to the parish church until 1580, but after that date private tuition had to take the place of grammar-school teaching for boys of that faith.

In Suffolk, however, Catholics were comparatively few in proportion to other dissenters from the Established Church. East Anglia was the headquarters of many a new sect, and all of these turned their attention to education. The *Minute Book of the Dedham Classis* shows how early this began. In 1594, John Brownsmith, of Bildeston, left

half a house and appurtenances for a school and for the master's dwelling. Sad to relate, his bequest, though "for ever," was by 1615 applied to other uses. This was probably for elementary teachers. But Brandeston appears to have had a good grammar teacher between 1583 and 1598, a Mr. Rason, who sent several boys up to Caius College. Mr. Tyllot, of Depden, and Mr. Goodwy, of Cranford, were also, at a slightly later date, private teachers of similar quality, whose work was stopped by the legislation of 1662. A great characteristic of this century was the numerous ejections from livings which marked every one of the many changes in the political government of the country. This certainly disorganised education to some extent, but by a curious compensatory working—while it injured the schools, the dispossessed clerical masters and ushers continued their educational work as private teachers. The tuition was good, the boys were well taught, and the list of admissions to Cambridge colleges shows no sign of falling off. On the contrary, some of them—Gonville and Caius College, for example—were full of students hailing from Suffolk schools and private teachers. Notice of any vacancy in the scholarships and exhibitions at Caius was always sent to the Suffolk schools for the authorities. What with the ejected Anglican divines during the Commonwealth, the ejected ministers and schoolmasters who could not conform under the Clarendon Code, and the ejected non-jurors in 1689, the supply of well-educated private teachers was more than adequate, and was, moreover, supplemented by the teaching licences frequently granted to curates of small livings, as, for example, to Robert Large, curate of Charsfield, and Bazaliel Carter, B.A., curate of Crofield.

Education, then, was not seriously injured by the troubles of the seventeenth century, but undoubtedly the schools themselves suffered. In many cases there was no great demand for Latin, and the founder had followed

antique custom in establishing a grammar school rather than taken heed of the actual wants of the place. In other places the endowment was originally slender, and in those cases where it consisted of a fixed annual charge on the estate the sum rapidly became of diminished value and was soon quite inadequate for a salary. In cases where a house had been given for the school or the master's residence, repairs were sooner or later required, and frequently there was no fund out of which they could be met. More than one school lapsed entirely for these reasons; others, partly because no graduate would accept such a badly-paid mastership, and partly because no Latin pupils ever presented themselves, were transformed into elementary schools. This seeming degradation was in reality very beneficial to many districts. The grammar schools which still flourished were sufficient to meet all demands for classical teaching.

Indirectly the various tests had, however, an important influence in accelerating the decline in grammar teaching. When neither Catholics nor Nonconformists could obtain degrees and fellowships because unable to subscribe to the statutory oaths, it was obviously useless to send up promising boys of these denominations to an English university. The northern counties solved the problem by sending their young men to the Scottish universities all through the eighteenth century, while Catholics availed themselves of the Continental universities. But the Protestant Dissenter in East Anglia was not conveniently situated for the former remedy, and so the injurious cause worked to the disadvantage of the minor grammar schools. As the economic factors already referred to continued to depress salaries, and as the price of living at the same time gradually rose, incomes of £20 and £30 became an absurdity. Masters and ushers met the situation with various devices. The former, being frequently in holy orders, were, as in Sudbury, able to undertake a cure of souls in some adjacent parish in addition to their

schoolroom duties. Both master and usher generally took boarders, and a new problem was introduced into school management, for the teachers were often inclined to neglect the statutory duties towards the free scholars in favour of the boarders, who were financially of much greater importance to them, and the parents of the boarders objected to their children associating with the "poor boys." Mr. John King, of Ipswich (1767-1799), is said to have had seventy boarders at one time. At Little Thurlowe Mr. Christoper Holmes came before the Commission for Charitable Uses in 1677, accused of obtaining money from certain parents as a reward or bribe for extra attention to their children. Mr. Croker at Lavenham, in 1817, charged high fees for day boys other than the free scholars, and refused boarders altogether. This very unsatisfactory master was for some time irregular in his attendance, and finally packed off all his elementary pupils to another teacher, to whom he paid £10 a year. Surely he must have had private means! One of his successors, in 1857, hit on the device of planting vegetables in the playground, and of supplementing his income by their sale. At Brandon, in the mid-nineteenth century, the boarders and the free boys were taught quite separately. In Cavendish, as in many other places, the numbers at the school remained high until some master who was doing his last years of work there found himself too old for the task. The free pupils had, owing to neglect, gone elsewhere, and when the boarders were given up, the school promptly collapsed.

Signs of decay were writ large by the end of the eighteenth century. At Thetford Thomas Eversden, the usher, was in 1738 promoted to the mastership and a subordinate dispensed with. Dr. Manning, in 1818, declined private pupils "from advance in years," and the school dropped in numbers to some twenty or thirty boys taught by an usher. Bury School was exceptionally steady in its fortunes until well into the

nineteenth century, appointing capable masters such as R. Valpey, the compiler of a well-known Greek delectus, Benjamin Heath Malkin, a scholar and born teacher, and the learned Rev. A. H. Wratislaw, who introduced the "reformed" pronunciation of Latin, only now becoming generally used in England, and sending out into the world boys such as Thomas Thurlow, afterwards Bishop of Durham, Charles James Blomfield, the antiquarian Bishop of London, and John Mitchell Kemble, the Anglo-Saxon scholar. Since 1879 Bury School has been organised under the Endowed Schools Act after a new scheme, and has removed to new and handsome quarters on the site of the old Abbey vineyards.

Ipswich School, which was equally secure on its economic base, has also a pleasing history. In 1852 it was removed from the refectory of the Black Friars, where it had been kept ever since 1763, and in 1881, under the Endowed Schools Act, the secondary education of the whole town, for both boys and girls, was examined, and the work was apportioned between the grammar school, a middle school, and the girls' school, the first two interfering with each other's functions in a manner which forcibly recalls the competition of the Mediæval song schools. Eventually, in 1906, the middle school and the girls' school were amalgamated as the Ipswich Municipal Secondary Schools, and the grammar school, now *par excellence* Ipswich School, entered upon another and, we hope, continuously prosperous stage.

Woodbridge, too, rose in position as time went on, and in spite of some truly disastrous episodes. In 1774 the exact definition of the "six chief inhabitants" had to be submitted to counsel for decision, and in 1800 a still more serious difference of opinion about the master led to rival appointments and a Chancery lawsuit. John Clarryvince, an old Cavendish boy, became master in 1815, and, like William Fletcher, placed the free boys at other Woodbridge schools. Mr. Christopher Crofts,

appointed master in 1832, dared not take up his duties on account of outstanding debts, and once more the teaching was disorganised. By the middle of the century endowments, buildings, and education all required improvement, and the Court of Chancery supplied the remedy in 1861 by connecting the school with Seckford Hospital, which had by that time grown extremely wealthy. A handsome new school building was rapidly built on a fine site just outside the town, and opened in 1865 with eighty boys, and an additional grant from the Hospital funds, under the Endowed Schools Act, ought to keep Woodbridge School in easy circumstances for some little time.

The story of the rest is soon told. Hadleigh School was by 1818 (the date of Carlisle's *Endowed Grammar Schools*) "enjoyed by the lower classes of humanity," and presumably as much of an elementary school as Alabaster's, founded in 1667. In Beccles Henry Falconbridge's endowment (in real estate) to the old school took effect in 1770, and Peter Routhe was the first headmaster to benefit by the bequest. The story which recounts his sternness in demanding a fine from one of Mr. Brightley's private school boys for breaking a window, and his geniality in quietly recouping the little culprit once the penalty was paid, shows a very pleasing side to his character. A son, Martin J. Routhe, must have been like tempered, for when he paid his annual visit home (which he did regularly until he became President of Magdalen) the boys were delighted that he should give his father a holiday and himself take over the schoolroom duties. Dr. Girdlestone, the new master in 1788, was one of those oddities generally known as a "domine," and combined a love of knowledge with a passion for skating. In 1829 the Commissioners decided, in spite of Falconbridge's will, that he had not intended to found a grammar school, but under the Endowed Schools Act, in 1883, its character was rehabilitated and its old status restored.

During the eighteenth century the master's salary at

Eye never rose above £18, for the number of pupils steadily diminished. Carlisle does not mention this Grammar School at all, and we are forced to conclude that it had lapsed into the position of an elementary school. The Commissioners of 1827 found that Latin was taught to the free scholars "when desired," and in 1866 the thirty pupils were crowded together in the low-ceilinged rooms of the old Guildhall, and the teaching was no better than in 1827. In 1876 this school was rehabilitated once more under the Endowed Schools Act. At Stoke-by-Clare, where, as I have said, the financial position was very insecure, no salary seems to have been provided under Charles II.'s pension scheme after 1706, and the schoolhouse itself was pulled down in 1780. In Sudbury the perpetual curate of that place held the mastership (often discharging the duties vicariously) throughout the century. Thomas Gainsborough was probably the most distinguished pupil of those days. In 1817 Sir Lachlan Maclean, who had purchased the school, rebuilt it, and ten years later installed his son, Hippias, a minor, as its master. This produced the great lawsuit—the Attorney-General *v.* Maclean—which was decided in favour of the defendant in 1857. Meantime the school suffered, but after that date new buildings were erected, and it made a fresh start with a new scheme under the Endowed Schools Act in 1878. Stowmarket can boast of having educated George Crabbe, the poet, during the mastership of Samuel Haddon (1764-9), an excellent teacher succeeded by a capable son. After this date, however, the school lost status, and its very name is wanting in the Inquiry Commissioners' Report in 1829.

At Botesdale, thanks to John Wilde's bequest in 1735, the master's salary became £40, but, though the numbers in the school rallied for a time and the recently reduced limit for the free scholars was restored to its original figure, there was evidently no demand for grammar

teaching, and the school became purely elementary by 1829, the Commissioners noting that "it is not remembered to have been ever kept up as a grammar school." *Sic fama est!*

Bungay, owing to Henry Williams' bequest of the perpetual advowson of St. Andrew's, Ilketshall, for the presentation of the schoolmaster as its vicar, recovered itself in an amazing manner, and the salary of the mastership, as advertised in the *Bury Post*, 1805, is rated at £130, exclusive of fees. The evil practice of pocketing this income and discharging the duty by deputy had adversely affected the quality of the teaching, but the Commissioners were in time to reorganise and save any institution which had kept alive until their day, and Bungay Grammar School is now doing good work in the field of education.

The story of the rest is shortly told. One new foundation, that of John Cockerton at Tuddenham St. Mary in 1723, distinguished the eighteenth century. A non-classical syllabus is advertised by Mr. Potter, the master, in the *Bury Post* of 1796, but in 1809 Mr. Tudd's advertisement is headed "Tuddenham Free Grammar School," and his programme includes Latin and Greek. The same notice informs us that the schoolhouse was in the centre of the village.

Stonham Aspall became entirely elementary at some early date in the nineteenth century. The most curious incident in its previous history was the strange behaviour of Mr. S. Haddon, who came here from Stowmarket, and who locked up the school and master's house for three years rather than perform some distasteful duties. Little Thurlow and Gislingham were both quite elementary schools by 1829; Lavenham had its funds converted, in 1893, into an exhibition tenable at Bury St. Edmunds. The endowments of Brandon were similarly converted into two £20 scholarships at Thetford.

The county benefited alike by the reorganisations and

the suppressions. At the present day no Suffolk boy need go beyond the limits of his own county in search of an education which will fit him either for entrance to the universities or for the demands of modern life. After centuries of tribulation, the work of the black years of 1548-50 have been wiped out, and Suffolk can rejoice in the freer intellectual atmosphere of post-Reformation times with scarcely a sigh of regret at the remembrance of pre-Reformation schools.

THE SUFFOLK BANK OF THE WINDING STOUR

By H. F. Hitchcock.

THE placid, winding Stour touches the Suffolk border near the village of Horseheath, in Cambridgeshire, and flows slowly down to its old mother, the North Sea, along the entire southern boundary of the county. Dwellers by the river have a tradition that it rises at Sturmer[1] or Stourmere, as it was called in the past, but this tradition is more poetical than exact. It is little more than a brook for many a mile, choked in summer with mace reed, arrowhead, white water-lily and flowering rush, widening here and there into deep pools, where the moorhen skims, flicking the surface with her dangling legs, and leaving a trail of broken water behind. Here, too, the kingfisher flies from one diving place to another, in azure streaks, searching for his dinner.

The stream runs through pasture and fields, where hemp once flourished (a strange crop to Suffolk men of the twentieth century), to Haverhill, whose thatched houses in ages gone by sheltered many a weaver employed from dewy morn to shivering night in the making of drabbets and fustians. Saffron, that ancient perfume and drug, was grown round about Haverhill in the days of the Stuarts; now it must be imported from Spain and Austria. A description of the husbandry is given by Sir Thomas

[1] The brook branches at Sturmer, one arm rising at Finchley Gate, the other at Shud's camp, both in Cambridgeshire.

Baskerville in his Tour, 1662.[1] After raising the bulbs —I suppose from offsets, but this is not mentioned—they were planted out by the husbandmen in heavily-manured land, "as thick as they could plant them," according to the man at the "Dog Inn," at Melsome, on the road between Royston and Cambridge, who gave to old Sir Thomas of his circumstantial knowledge and, shall we say, poetry. They were planted five inches deep to permit hoeing the soil above them. Weeds were allowed to grow throughout the summer by those who had cattle to feed; and then, before the power of the sun was gone, about the middle of September, the ground was hoed clean, and the stems of the bulbs began to show above ground. In the second and third year they blossomed plentifully; in the fourth year they were dug up and reset.

"When the flowers come up the people are diligent to gather them in baskets and take out the chives[2] in the middle of them of a redder colour, and that is what they call saffron. Then they are dried in an iron pan over the fire; they are so well dried that they are not apt to be mouldy. Thus cured a pound is valued at twenty-five shillings in these days, but formerly it was double the price of silver for saffron. These saffron heads or roots are grown so cheap you may now in these parts buy a bushel of them for one shilling and sixpence, and sometimes a shilling, as this year, 1661."

Such was the information imparted by the gentleman at "The Dog" at Melsome.

From Haverhill the river flows to Stoke-by-Clare, where a College, originally a Benedictine Priory, was founded by Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, in 1415. The tower of old Saint John's College, to which the church was built, is all that remains. The site has many links with the past. The martyrs Bishop Ridley and Thomas Bilney, the statesmen Cecil and Bacon, fled here for sanctuary. Oppressed and suffering for their enlightenment, men too forward, too learned for the times, men

1 13 *Rep. Hist. MSS. Com.*, pt. ii., 281-3.
2 The stigmas. Saffron is the *Crocus sativus* of Botany.

who had got out of step with their age, they had their reward—the persecution of the righteous, "the unco' guid." The last Dean of Stoke College was Doctor Parker, the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, into whose charge was given the child Elizabeth Tudor, when he attended her mother, Anne Boleyn, in her last moments on the scaffold.

The College passed from the hands of Sir Gervais Elwes, in 1660, to Sir Hervey Elwes, the celebrated miser, of whom many quaint stories are told. He swore that when he came into the involved estate he would never die till it was quite clear of debt. He lived to amass £100,000. Consumptive in his youth, he reached the advanced age of eighty years. His meanness was such that he denied himself the luxury of artificial light; he would never have a fire; the wind entered every casement of the mansion, the rain poured through its roof. One man-servant and two maid-servants dwelt with him in the vast old hall. His annual expenses never exceeded more than one hundred and ten pounds. He had two acquaintances, Sir Cordell Firebrace and Sir John Barnardiston, men of the same stamp as himself. Their meeting-place was the village inn, where the reckoning was always a matter of great moment, of earnest counsel. As they disputed one day with mine host, a wag called out of the window to the loafers and the passers-by: "For heaven's sake step up and assist the poor! Here are three baronets worth a million of money a-squabbling about a paltry farthing!"

Sir Hervey Elwes died in the year 1760. As he lay in state ("such as it was," says the old chronicler) one of his tenants observed, with more wit than decency, "It's a mercy Sir Hervey cannot see it." John Meggott, his nephew, inherited the estate and name, and as John Elwes, Esquire, carried on the family tradition. Parsimony was in him an inherited vice. His mother, the widow of a rich brewer, starved herself to death on a hundred thousand

pounds. But John Elwes was something more than a miser, he was "a character." During his uncle's lifetime he often visited the old man, and ingratiated himself into special favour by his meanness: he habitually and cunningly changed his doublet and hose to a homely fustian before entering the mansion. He lived at Stoke for fourteen years; kept a sorry pack of hounds and a sorrier hunter, which he gave up when he moved to Marcham, in Berkshire, on his election to Parliament. He was most assiduous in his public duties. Travelling to town on horseback he avoided all turnpikes and public-houses, and carried his provisions (crusts of bread, morsels of cheese and the like) in his pocket; at the same time his nag cropped the grass by the wayside. Retiring from public life to avoid the expense of a contested election, he returned from Marcham to live at Stoke-by-Clare. When his pack of hounds was mentioned he observed that as a young man he spent a great deal of money foolishly, but that a man grew wiser in time. His home at Stoke was like his uncle's hall. The rain poured through the roof: once more the windows were mended with brown paper, the paint scaled away from the woodwork, and the grass grew rank around the walls of the old house. For warmth he lived all day in an old greenhouse, or sat with his only servant in the kitchen. He gleaned corn in the fields of his own tenants, who left a little over-carelessly behind for him. He would carry home dry sticks and bits of wood and bone, and sometimes even straw, to be used for fuel. One day, when he was observed robbing a crow's nest for the same purpose, a gentleman asked why he gave himself such trouble. "Oh, Sir!" said the old baronet, "it is really a shame that these creatures should do thus. Do but see what waste they make! They don't care how extravagant they are." His scanty clothing was of the poorest material. He would sometimes exchange his coat for that on a scarecrow in the fields, as it usually showed less signs

of wear. He wore an old wig that was picked up in the rut of a dirty lane. His food was loathsome: once he was known to eat a putrid moorhen which a rat had brought up out of the river. But in spite of all his meanness, he was subject to occasional fits of extravagance, and was at times an easy prey of artful adventurers. Upon one occasion he embarked £25,000 in an American venture of which he knew nothing. He gambled at times, and paid up his losses like a man, but he never asked for his winnings. He had two natural sons, to whom at his death, in 1780, he bequeathed the sum of half a million sterling.

Clare Castle was an impregnable stronghold before the day of Gilbert de Clare. Around the deep-moated mound surged backwards and forwards fiery Saxon warriors with hoarse cries in desperate fight. This defence stood on the Marches of the old kingdom of East Anglia. Built early in the days of the Saxon Heptarchy, its ruins alone now loom out of the misty and savage past. Little of the old fortress remains. The line of earthworks encloses nearly twenty acres of land at the foot of the mound on which stood the formidable keep. A priory founded in the castle by his father was removed by Richard de Clare in 1124 to Stoke-by-Clare. George, Duke of Clarence, who finished his inefficient and bloody life ignominiously in a Malmsey butt, held his royal title, which Lionel, third son of Edward III., first possessed, from this old stronghold.

From Clare the Stour waters wind along to Sudbury, where they become a navigable stream, having been locked and dredged in 1706. Sudbury was a town of importance at an early period of history. Its name is suggestive of South Burgh, as it was called by men in Saxon days. Norwich is traditionally believed to have been the North Burgh of the East Folk. The Flemish followers of the Earl of Leicester, who was defeated at Fornham St. Genevieve, 1173, it is stated, were given life and liberty

if they settled in East Anglia and pursued their peaceful trade of weaving. Edward III. also encouraged weavers to migrate from Flanders, many of whom settled at Sudbury. The houses of their descendants are still standing, and are easily known by their large windows. To-day their occupants weave cocoa-fibre into door mats, where their ancestors wove silk and velvet for the rich dresses of the nobles, who—

> "Wore a farm in shoestrings edged with gold,
> And spangled garters worth a copyhold,
> A hose and doublets which a lordship cost,
> A gaudy cloak, three mansions' price almost."

In 1662, when Sir Thomas Baskerville was on his journeys, he passed through Sudbury, and in the quaint language of the Cavalier and Puritan age, says of Sudbury:—

> "'Tis beautiful, with fair churches whose towers and steeples at some distance as you come out of Essex through Ballingdon seem to stand in the form of an equilateral triangle. The churches' names are St. Gregory's, St. Peter's, and All Hallows. In the last, the family of the Edens, who live now at Ballington, hath a fair monument. By this church there was a priory, now the house of Mrs. How. Here was likewise an abbey, sometime the residence, or else the town was his birthplace, of the learned man, Simon of Sudbury, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury."

Archbishop Simon, who built one end of the church of St. Gregory, Sudbury, was beheaded by the mob in the Wat Tyler rebellion. His skull may be seen in the vestry of the church to this day. If the church, with its eight bells, were restored to its former condition, the structure would be one of the largest and finest in a neighbourhood rich in ecclesiastical buildings. Of the College, which was established by Simon of Sudbury, nothing now remains. Salter's Hall, in Mill Street, is a fine specimen of timbered work; it looks down on many a tired traveller from the neat rows of photographs decorating the walls of the railway coaches in East Anglia. It is in no danger of demolition, and seems to

be clothed in a thicker pellicle of varnish and paint every year, like a fine piece of Jacobin furniture over-glittering with French polish.

It was in Sudbury that the precocious genius, Tom Gainsborough, the artist, was born. To wander by the meandering river, to tramp in the Suffolk woods, to roam beneath the blue sky, these were the things which delighted his soul. He became an instrument easily attuned to Nature's fickle and varied moods. He was born in the year 1727, eleven years after the barges first sailed or were towed up to the town, and at an early age was sent to the Ipswich Grammar School. Ever seeking to shirk his lessons, one day he took a slip of paper to his schoolmaster, who at that time was his uncle. The writing upon it resembled that of his father's; the words ran thus:—"Give Tom a holiday." The request was a forgery so cleverly executed that the boy obtained his holiday. The crime was, however, subsequently detected. His father, in terror of the future career of the culprit, prophesying, said, "Tom will be hanged one day." He doubted, however, the truth of his prophecy when he saw his son's sketches, so full of promise, so vital, so fresh; and, forgetting the penalties arising from acts of forgery in a commercial society, he declared, very naturally and proudly, "Tom will be a genius!" Tom Gainsborough painted portraits at Ipswich and Bath, where the fashionable, be-powdered and be-patched world of wealth and frivolity supplied him with patrons. He moved to London, to be a continual thorn in the flesh of Sir Joshua Reynolds, and, at last, refused to exhibit at the Royal Academy because he considered his work was badly hung. His landscapes were as lovely as his portraits were elegant. Like many great men, he strove after fame down avenues in which Nature never intended him to walk. With not much ear for music, he longed to rival Paganini!

At Sudbury the beautiful character of the Stour

Valley begins; the quiet little English valley which the genius of native artists has made world-renowned. Thirty-five miles of winding river leisurely flows down to Dedham and Flatford, passing Wormingford on the way, with its grand old Tudor mansion, and Smallbridge, built with bricks made from clay which, tradition says, was dug from the black mere just across the deeps of the river. Tradition also maintains that the river here is bottomless, and certainly the bargemen can only just reach the mud with the ends of their long quanting poles.

Nayland, with its church, stands close by the river. Here, as in Brantham Church, may be seen a genuine Constable subject-picture. It was painted under a Reynolds' influence in 1807. Constable at the time had been copying some work of that master for Lord Dysart.

Stoke-by-Nayland has many links with the days that are gone. Sir W. Capel, draper and Lord Mayor of London, was born here. During his Mayoralty, in 1503, he gave a splendid banquet to the avaricious Henry VII. The feast ended with a bonfire, and his pride and grandeur were so great that he flung into the flames bonds given him by the King for money borrowed. At another feast he dissolved a pearl of enormous value in a glass of wine and drank it. In spite of all this ostentation and extravagance, the royal extortioner fleeced him cruelly. He, however, retrieved his affairs by commerce, and died a wealthy man. Giffard's Hall, another old Tudor mansion with an ancient history, stands in the same parish of Stoke. It was the seat of the Mannock family in Henry IV.'s time. Before that date it was the home of the Giffards. The hall was rebuilt in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. Stoke Church, standing high on the Suffolk bank of the river, is visible for fifteen miles around; it can be seen as far away as Harwich, and on a clear day the shimmering waters of the harbour glistening in the sunlight are visible from the high ground on which the church stands.

Giffard's Hall, Stoke-by-Nayland.

At Stoke are some fine old black-timbered cottages well worth a pilgrimage. They stand eloquently showing what harmonious things can be done with the materials at hand. Their builder was unfettered by the dictates of county councils; these old dwellings grew simply and naturally as did the trees surrounding them.

The next interest on the banks of the old stream is Langham Mill, a great subject for a painting, but no great artist has yet painted it! The valley here is larger, more dignified, and lovelier.

Flatford is four miles down stream on the Suffolk bank. Butterflies are born amidst flowers, birds abound in the leafy trees, and here John Constable, the painter, breathed his first weak breath among the beauties of the Suffolk valley. John Constable is known, not only to students of art, but to all who cultivate a love of knowledge, as the inventor of the School of English landscape painting.

This valley is interesting in many ways. It was evidently an estuary in ages gone by; now it provides a channel for a narrow and winding river, which slowly falls toward the sea, fringed by sedge, pollard-willow, and black poplar. Uplands, which in harvest time are rich with many a field of tawny wheat and golden barley, slope down to the lush pasture near the stream, dotted with red cattle, and here and there an "ox-house." The slowly-moving barges, with their quaint customs, still linger on the waters; the jumping-horse may be seen as in the days of old. The rich brown lug-sails have disappeared, making way for peculiar double barges, the rear barge acting as rudder to the foremost; on it the "captain" stands steering his craft by means of a long, heavy pole, gaudily painted with rings of red, white, and blue, firmly built into the prow of the stern barge, at the base of which an old pail, with holes in it, pours out a beautiful ultramarine-coloured wood-smoke when the skipper and his mate are thinking of their supper. The

towing path, along which the horse with his rider walks, often comes to an abrupt end, and continues on the opposite bank.[1] The horses are trained to ferry across the river, standing cramped and with feet close together on the prow of the front barge. Sometimes no "jump" has been constructed, and the horses are compelled to wade; in winter, when the water is high, they swim across the stream. The oak bridges, bleached to a white greeny grey, are rapidly disappearing. A few yet stand, crossed by lumbering kine and stolid ploughboy a-whistling to the crows. Locks, grey and lichen-covered, dam the stream at intervals all the way from Sudbury. Ties of oak, seared with the frost and heat of decades, prevent the sides from falling in, while underneath the continual drip, drip of the leaking sluices and the steam of the water transform the gates into minute ferneries, where many tiny flowers lead a wet and exotic existence. Churches, which from their size speak of larger populations, look down at intervals on the smiling valley. The Stour Valley lies beneath fine skies. Frequently throughout the year the cumuli clouds may be seen packed away with their flat bellies held up by the ascending pressure of the air beneath. The farmer, hallooing off the marauding rooks, goes to his fields with mind elate, to urge on the stolid ploughman delaying too long on the sheltered side of a hedge, or resting the willing horses over-much at the end of a furrow. The salt water flows up to Flatford through Judy's Gap, forming an estuary of tidal water edged with reeds, a grand place for duck in the winter when the weather is hard. Oft in the spring, during the mating season, the mysterious whirr of the snipe may be heard as it hurtles downwards through the air, and the mad lapwing, careering with eccentric flight, wheels and twists and turns head-over-heels to lure away the unwelcome passer-by.

[1] This is evidently owing to the opposition of the riparian owners to the canal scheme in the past.

The smell of the sea is in the air, and here the Stour changes its character utterly, widening out to a mother-of-pearl sheet of salt water at high tide. On the causeway at Cattawade the skeleton of Robert Debenham swung, four hundred years ago, rattling in its chain in the salt breeze, within sight of the old Chapel of St. Mary *ad pontem*, erected by the Rector of East Bergholt in 1291. He was one of the four "enlightened" men who walked one dark night to Dovercourt, sixteen miles away, stole from the church a noted crucifix, which was credited to have worked divers miracles, and burnt it on the Green. Two of his comrades suffered the like penalty with him.

A few miles from Cattawade Bridge, on the Suffolk bank of the estuary, stands Sutton Mill. It is a lonely and desolate spot, the only tidal mill on the river, "God-forsaken and man-forsaken." Bats and swallows dart in and out at the windows; the curlew whistles overhead; the cry of the peewit is always there.

Holbrook Bay is lapped by the river's tidal waves; there the waters spread out stealthily, silently, and with oily rapidity for three miles. The herons come home at sundown, flapping lazily their enormous wings, across the narrow spit of land lying at the junction of the Stour and the Orwell. The waters of the latter bear innumerable craft upon their bosom, but the Stour glides down to the sea amid loneliness, wildness and seclusion. The snow-white gulls, borne on the scud of the North Sea, fly inland, telling of the rough, tempest-tossed ocean beyond, and return eastwards to the sea again when the wild storm is over, almost scorning to move their long wings in their homeward flight. The last time the river laps the Suffolk shore is at Shotley Gate, where lay concealed many a smuggler's cache in the days of long ago. Not far from the wild beach, where the samphire and wild scurvy grass flourish, stands Erwarton Hall, a noble Tudor mansion, once the seat of the Parker family, keeping watch over the estuaries of the Stour and the Orwell. Upon the

opposite shore is Parkeston, with its busy quay, where the huge, ugly liners rush in like express trains with all their lights a-glowing.

Alfred the Great overwhelmed a Norse fleet off Shotley, and sent sixteen galleys to the bottom of the river. Tales of their strange hulls and curved timbers were current when the writer was a boy.

The Stour enters at last the estuary of the Thames, as it has for countless ages, swollen by the waters of the Orwell. In these days the doleful bell-buoy clangs loudly in the tide-race of the river—the very channel, perhaps, where our Saxon and Viking forefathers drove their low, long ships with many a grinding oar, their glittering shields hanging round in serried border, and their brightly-painted sails hammering against the mast. Now, peaceful shrimpers come and go in these waters. Tramps, the carriers of the wide world, thud, thud and vibrate past, belching out black smoke, and barges with tan sails due up the Medway luff in the wind and fall away on the other tack; Greenwich Conservancy pilots ply their dangerous, lucrative trade, cruising, under double-reefed mainsails, to and fro, hull down in the offing, sending out at intervals little boats, from which men clamber aboard the mighty ships on their way to London, the largest port, the Carthage, the metropolis of the world of to-day.

THE SUFFOLK SHORE

By the Editor

CENTURY after century, as far back as the annals of our island bear record, a constant lament has gone up from the Suffolk coast because of the ravages of the sea. But the waves of the North Sea have not been the sole agent for the cutting back of the margin of the shore. Where the Suffolk coast rises to a sufficient height (about 50 to 70 ft.) to be designated cliffs, the materials of the soil are soft and the slope is of an uneven kind. The earth on the summit of the cliff, exposed to the action of frost and heat, rain and wind, falls, to be carried away by the restless waves. There is little accumulation of shingle at the foot of the cliff to resist the action of the waters, so that a well-weathered slope cannot be created. Villages and towns which were founded upon this speedily loosened soil have gradually perished and their remains are lost to human ken. Such was the fate of the first-founded of Suffolk cities, Dunwich, the seat of an early bishopric; such the fate which attended the once prosperous villages of Easton Bavent, Covehithe, Burgh-next-Walton, Newton-by-Corton; and such seems to be the fate awaiting Pakefield, Southwold, and other coast-lying towns.

Proximity to the North Sea meant, for towns standing on the Suffolk shore in the days of the "Making of England," destruction as frequent by the assaults of barbarous Norsemen as by the ragings of the sea.

Dunwich, we are told in the Domesday, lost half its land beneath the ocean when Ipswich was laid desolate by the attacks of the sea-rovers and deserted by its inhabitants. Though the sea was a means of destruction and loss to the inhabitants, it gave back to the county as much land as it had swallowed up; and if it provided a pathway for the entrance of marauders, it also furnished to the toilers of the deep sustenance and a never-ending harvest. The dangers were great, but the blessings it brought were more infinite. Hence, when famine fell upon the county, the sea continued to give up its bounty to the inmates of the numerous religious houses in east Suffolk, as well as to the monks of St. Edmund. Many and heavy were the rents in herrings furnished by the fisherfolk to king, lord and priest. For example, in Dunwich the house-rents, called "fish-fare," paid in herrings to the town clergy amounted annually to the number of 15,377; the highest rent was 4,020 herrings and the lowest 30 herrings. The village of Easton Bavent paid in rent annually 3,110 herrings. This form of service was considered as ancient as Romescot or Peter's Pence. In the days of Edward the Confessor Dunwich paid into the royal treasury £50 and over 70,000 herrings.

The sea also supplied salt, an invaluable possession. By industry and skill, sea-walls (*heie maris*) were erected, and in suitable localities salt-pans were made for the manufacture by evaporation of "salt upon salt." The Domesday mentions the existence of many of these salt-pans along the Suffolk coast. They were often to be found in most unexpected situations, and in hamlets of long-forgotten names, such as Pannington, Leofstanstone, Scotton, Hintlesham, Frostenden, Stutton and elsewhere.

There can be no hesitation in saying that the story of the Suffolk shore is a fascinating one to botanist and geologist, naturalist and historian alike.

The soil of Suffolk is for the greater part light and sandy, and in many districts so great attention is required to farm it in order to produce the poorest of crops, that it has acquired the name of "Hungary," or hungry soil. Even in the extreme west of the county the soil is in places so light that sand-floods have occurred which overwhelmed large tracts of land. There was a notable occurrence of this phenomenon in 1668. Thomas Wright, "a sufferer by the Deluge," in substance thus describes the "prodigious sands in which he had the unhappiness to be buried, and by which a considerable portion of his fortune was swallowed up" The sand-hills of Lakenheath warren were broken up by the imperious south-west winds, and the soil, blown on to adjacent land of the same nature, was increased in mass so that before it had travelled a distance of four miles it covered an area of 1,000 acres, having, at its start, only occupied a surface of eight acres. The only obstacle it had met with in its progress was a farm-house, which, despite the bulwarks which were erected, it completely buried. The flood of sand swept on to Downham, where it destroyed divers houses and tenements, but Wright himself, by the erection of furze-hedges and embankments and by the assistance of his neighbours, who removed 1,500 loads of sand for him in one month, saved his own dwelling. "Sandy Downham" was left in desolation by the sand flood, which swept on until the branch of the Ouse known as the Thetford or Brandon river stayed its course and saved Norfolk from the destruction which followed in its path.

Though sand-floods are known in West Suffolk, it is the sea border-land which has been designated "the Sandling" by Arthur Young, the leading agriculturist of the early part of the nineteenth century. The Sandling lies between the Deben and the sea, and contains some of the most beautiful undulating stretches of heather, ling and bracken to be seen in the county. The

heathland extends in places right up to the seashore, and forms the brink of unimposing cliffs. No sight is so magnificent as that presented by the expanse of purple heath and golden gorse mingling with waving bracken upon the short green sward of Dunwich Common where it lies next the sea. There, too, may be seen the Burnet or Dunwich rose, with its clusters of flowers or black hips, the creeping honeysuckle, the bird's-foot trefoil, and the rare white heather. Here and there the 400 acres of heathland has dotted over its surface round barrows or long haughs, which cover the remains of Saxon and Norseman who knew the heath when it was a pathless track. Occasionally these mounds and the adjacent soil show the tracks of the ploughshare made in the days of high prices, when the most barren of soil was made to yield its quota of corn for the market. It gave up its little only through the most laborious toil of the husbandman, who, in the days of a cheap market, allowed it to fall back to its original state of wild heath. The story runs that the Suffolk labourer who upturned these burial mounds had many a tale to tell to his children of the giants whose bones he had exposed to view. These children now see growing on the disturbed barrows the dwarf elder-bush with its red blossoms and berries, whence is derived its name, Daneblood. The flowers of the Suffolk shore—the yellow-horned sea-poppy, the sea-lavender, the sea-convolvulus, and the long-leaved thistle, marked, according to superstitious minds, by the milk of the Holy Virgin—constantly delight young and old, natives as well as strangers. There is also the sea-pea of Orford beach, which saved the natives from starvation during the days of famine in the reign of Queen Mary

Shore, cliffs, marshes, saltings and heath ever present a wide domain for the naturalist. Upon the shore may be collected more than sixty varieties of marine mollusca, and the conchologist can further add to his collection by searching for the many species of fresh-water mollusca

All Saints' Church, Dunwich.

inhabiting the clear, shallow streams which empty themselves into the various creeks. The disciple of Isaak Walton will no longer find ready opportunity to carry on his favourite pastime, although he may be fortunate enough to land unexpected fish from the rivers. Salmon over seven pounds in weight have been caught in the Deben, and the royal fish, six stone in weight and more than seven feet in length, has been stranded twelve miles up the river Orwell.

The sportsman can still find much to interest him. On poits or in punt he may pursue his game. From the earliest times the marshes which line the banks of the Orwell, Deben, Ore and Blyth have been noted as the habitats of wild fowl, native and migratory from the Dutch Coast. In early days the flat-bottomed boat used among the marshes was known as a Peter boat, probably because the Apostle Peter and fish always appeared to be associated with each other. Gulls are numerous, terns or sea-swallows, saddlebacks, canvasbacks and grey gulls fly and scream farther and farther inland as the tempestuous weather increases in violence. The Sandwich tern is an occasional visitor. Among local divers may be seen the grebe, dab-chicken, goosander, smew, guillemot or stormbird, and occasionally the Northern diver. The boom of the bittern is seldom heard, but the cry of the heron, still locally known as the hernshaw, is frequent. The golden plover oft appears flitting over the saltings, and in the later months of the year Hollanders—the grey plover, green plover or lapwing, green shank, curlew, red shank, and ox-bird or sea-snipe—wade in large flocks, seeking food in the mud and ooze. The most beautiful of all the wild fowl which frequent the district is the sheldrake, whose mate makes its nest and brings up its brood in one of the many rabbit burrows in the crag pits bordering the rivers.

In outlining the shore, it may be noticed that Landguard Point at its extreme projection is formed of

sand and shingle worn into a round hummock with little cliff-like edges; the largest pebbles lie on its summit. The point appears to be subject to an annual decrease of 4·40 yards. The present fort was erected in 1718. Barriers of sand and shingle, driven along the shore from the north-east, have gradually enclosed Walton Creek, in all probability the site of the ancient outfall of the Orwell. Bull Cliff is forty feet high, with small sand dunes at its foot; beyond stretches a shingle beach and a sandy foreshore. Modern "fulls" of shingle tail round into Bawdsey Harbour, and lie under the shelter of Bawdsey Cliff, 50 feet high. Bawdsey beach is the overplus of Orford shingle formed in a bight favourable for its retention. The extremity of Orford Haven is the North Weir or North Ear, below which are the Haven Knolls.

It is on the left side of the river Ore that we have one of the finest spreads of shingle in the kingdom, reaching north-west to Aldeburgh. This shingle has been the making and unmaking of Suffolk ports. In 1907 this tongue of shingle, which had been increasing southwards gradually until it had formed a useless estuary of the river Ore ten miles in length, reached its furthest limit. In the spring of the year the sea burst through the stony barrier, making a passage for the exit of the river one mile further north, and leaving a vast stretch of shingle and two deserted river-channels as a protection to the marshes of Hollesley from further inroads of the sea.

The origin of this shingle is a mystery. Pentinger's *Tabula*, which is now in the Imperial Library at Vienna, was probably copied (*circa* A.D. 1265) by the monk who wrote the *Annals of Colmar* from another chart, which had its origin in the map of M. Vipsanius Agrippa (*circa* 10 B.C.), but must have received many modifications and additions. On this map is delineated an expanse of shingle lying on the bed of the North Sea, having two tongues stretching southwards; the one lying in the

ocean away from the coast is distinct from the more westerly tongue, which touches the land on the coast of Suffolk alone. The point of contact is in the immediate neighbourhood of Sitomagus, or Dunwich. This seems to suggest that the early cartographer had the same views as the late Astronomer Royal, Sir George Biddell Airy, as to the origin of the shingle on the Suffolk coast. The Astronomer Royal thought it very probable that the presence of the bar of shingle in front of the mouths of the Ore and Alde was due to the formation of the shoal from the sea, and that probably some degree of southern travelling of the shingle along the shore had compelled the rivers to seek an exit through a more southerly part of the shingle. He did not consider that the shingle had originated from the degradation of the cliffs, but, having been brought up from the sea, it travelled, following the direction of the prevailing winds which blew along the coast affected. In his opinion no empirical rule could be established as to the origin of this shingle; a combination of causes existed. He stated that the plastic clay formation, lying below the London clay and consisting for the most part of pebbles, was the origin of the shingle which was cast up by the sea. He was unable to agree with those authorities who believed the shingle to have been created from the abrasion of cliffs possessing little or no material which could be converted into so marvellous an expanse of stones and pebbles. He, moreover, thought that the travelling of material from the Norfolk shores was to a very great extent fictitious.

Although Sir George Biddell Airy was well acquainted with the district and spoke with authority, he was unable to convince leading geologists and engineers that his theory was the correct one. There are still many eminent men who believe that the whole mass of shingle has travelled along the coast in a southerly direction; some even assert that the pebbles, porphyry

and agate bear a strong resemblance to the rocks and stones off Fife Ness and St. Abb's Head, and that the shingle originated off the coast of Scotland.

The decay of the city of Dunwich partly arose from the destruction of one-third part of the town by the incursion of the sea and by the blocking up of the harbour mouth by shingle, once or twice yearly, in the reign of Edward II. In the succeeding reign the Dunwich quays were deserted; the four score vessels of the town no longer discharged their cargoes upon its wharves, for the sea had entirely closed the harbour (*par get du meer tout est destrope*), and another haven two leagues distant from Dunwich had been forced by the passage of the waters, so that merchants with their ships dared not enter the old haven on account of the shingle (*pour peril de roches*). The loss to Dunwich was Southwold's gain, but exactly five hundred years afterwards the old cry of the lost city of Dunwich was to be heard of Southwold itself. Under certain conditions of wind the mouth of Southwold Harbour was entirely choked with shingle, and was inaccessible to shipping for weeks together. This was the case in 1859, when the bank of shingle was sufficient for persons to be able to walk across the mouth of the harbour. The water was frozen inland so that the harbour was entirely closed up. This happened on March 26th, 1883, under the influence of a strong easterly gale.

The broad of Easton Bavent is separated from the sea by a bar of shingle. Benacre Broad was invaded by a high tide in 1878. This tide caused an overflow of sea-water over a great part of the marsh, killing the fish of the broad in great numbers. This district is noted for the loss of land that has occurred along its sea-margin. Covehithe Cliffs once formed the easternmost point of England. The recent rate of the destruction of the cliff at Easton Bavent has been an average loss in breadth of seven yards in five years.

Other notable instances of the destruction of the Suffolk coast-lands by erosion and by submersion have occurred at Felixstowe, Hollesley and Aldeburgh. In the year 1100 the sea caused a great destruction of the cliff at Felixstowe, carrying away the old Saxon "burg" and compelling Earl Bigot to select a securer site further inland on which to erect his famous castle at Walton, capable of holding a garrison of 120 men. A small heap of stones remains to mark the position of this castle. The strong walls which surrounded its keep lie beneath the waves; their ruins are locally known as the Stone Works. Two centuries later the monks who inhabited the cell of St. Felix, whence the township derived its name, Felixstowe, bewailed still further losses; the marsh of Earl Bigot, which returned an annual rent of two marks to the high altar of their chapel at Burgh, was entirely destroyed by the sea, and 80 acres of arable land for a like reason, they lamented, could no longer supply them with tithe corn. Bawdsey has been comparatively free from sea-encroachments; but, on the other hand, that parish has encroached upon the sea-limit of Alderton and has deprived the latter parish of its coast-line. As recently as 1626 the parish of Alderton had a maritime border; the terrier of Church lands mentions the destruction of 20 acres of marsh land by the sea in 1583, and in the previously-named year it was reported to the Lords of the Admiralty that wreck of the sea at Alderton was challenged by Lord Berkeley. Now Bawdsey touches Hollesley at Shingle Street, and the sea-walls and headlands, Bresness and Bough Head of Alderton, are things of the past. At this part of the coast there are many important "fleets" or "eyes" which drain the marshes, and form a conspicuous feature of the mainland. The term "*eye*," probably a corruption of "*heia*," a wall or hedge, is to be seen in the word Bawdsey, originally Balder's eye or fleet. There is a curious rendering of the word "eye" in the nomenclature of the

district. At Alderton, Buxton's eye has, by assimilation, become Bukeney, and from similar causes the principal fleet which drained the marshes east of the river Ore, passing over the stony shingle, was called the Stone eye, but, the original meaning of eye having been forgotten, the fleet is now marked on surveys as Stoney Ditch. An interesting local alteration of names is seen in the present-day Hawkin's Luff, which in old plans of Hollesley is always designated Hacon's Slough.

Fortunately we are able, by the existence of a survey made by Norden in 1601 for Sir Michael Stanhope, and with the help of Government and other records, to describe the steady southward growth of the tongue of shingle which caused the complete alteration of the coast-line from Aldeburgh to Bawdsey. A reference to the accompanying map[1] will make the following explanation clear. When Henry II. built his castle at Orford in 1165 shingle had begun to collect at and upon the headland, Orford Ness. The town quickly developed from the small hamlet of Sudbourn to a thriving port, and finally to a flourishing borough standing at the very mouth of the haven. The old stream had entered the sea north of the spot marked on the plan as John Cowper's house, at Almouth, but was subsequently diverted into the course of a wide fleet west of Orford Ness when Almouth became blocked up with shingle at the Slawtinge, now Slaughden. The shingle travelled and accumulated over the Lanterne and King's Marshes, where, before the erection of the High and Low Lights at Orfordness, oil lanthorns warned the seafaring men of the proximity of the coast, until a "New mere" or shingle bar was formed across "Newmouth" at the

1 Norden's Survey of Orford and the neighbouring district is drawn upon twenty-eight large vellum sheets, each 21 in. by 15 in. The area represented upon the various sheets is marked upon the illustration by lines drawn across it. The whole survey forms a handsome book now in the possession of Kenneth M. Clark, Esq., by whose permission the accompanying plan was made.

CHART OF THE RIVER ORE, 1601.

spot where the Stone eye entered Orford Haven. In time, as the tongue of shingle, and consequently the mouth of Orford Haven, gradually extended southward, the waters of the river Ore found themselves pent up in a narrow channel between Mr. Hasset's marshes and the shingle bank. The force of the stream broke a way at the south extremity of the fleet lying west of the marshes, and so formed an island and the channel known as the Upper Gull. The same phenomenon was repeated, owing to the final junction of the three collections of shingle at the southern extremity of the islands and the opposite points of land and the mouths of the Chillesford fleet or Butley river. The pent-up waters of Butley river forced a passage at Hollesley fleet, destroying the ancient Ky Haven and forming channels continuous with the Gull, and known as Abraham's Bosom and the Lower Gull. The portion of Hollesley lands cut off by this action of the Butley river became attached to Mr. Hasset's marshes by a strip of shingle; the whole now forms Havergate Island. The same alteration of coast might have occurred east of Bowman's Creek or "Le Hope," were it not that the sea has at length, after centuries of efforts, cut through the tongue of shingle, thus removing the mouth of Orford Haven northwards instead of, as formerly, in a southerly direction.

The great, increasing stretch of shingle has ever been a hindrance to navigation, and the cause of the decay of towns; but it has to a very great extent acted as a bulwark to sea incursions. Where no shingle existed inundations were frequent; endless labour had to be expended to maintain the sea-walls and to erect bulwarks. Marshes adjacent to the sea were "inned" and reclaimed by the formation of walls and fleets. Seldom, indeed, could it be recorded, as it was on October 15th, 1114:—"The sea so decreased and shrank from the accustomed water-marks and coasts of the land that tidal rivers dried up, and were forded afoot where ships of great tonnage were wont to

ride at anchor." Rather was it more usual to record, as in 1237:—"The sea burst with high tides and tempests of winds, marsh countries near the sea were flooded, herds and flocks perished, and no small number of men were lost and drowned. The sea rose continually for two days and one night." Or to record, as in 1251:—"On Christmas night there was great thunder and lightning in Suffolk; the sea caused heavy floods." Or as it was noted in much later years by Defoe:—"Aldeburgh has two streets each near a mile long, but its breadth, which was more considerable formerly, is not proportionable, and the sea has of late years swallowed up one whole street." Any visitor to Aldeburgh may in these days witness the constant, unavailing efforts to keep clear the old river channel lying north of the town in order that the distant marshes may be kept free from ocean floods, which have already formed an extensive broad in that district. The same forces have been at work on the coast at Southwold as at Aldeburgh. The former town, with its common, is practically on an island, bounded on the east by the sea, on the south-west by the Blyth river, on the north-west by Buss Creek. It is only joined to the mainland by a narrow neck of shingle which divides Buss Creek from the sea.

There is along the Suffolk coast, speaking generally, some extent of shingle beach, but from Cartleyness to Pakefield is one stretch of sand, called Bernard Sand at the southern extremity and Newcomb Sand at the north. Where alluvial deposits protrude beyond the beach, on the shore, the peaty layers, when they contain remains of trees and distinct traces of vegetation, are known as Submerged Forests, which have a large geological literature. These occurrences are owing to the cutting back of the coast, the constant throwing back of the beach, and the exposure at low tide of the fresh-water deposit. These "forests" have been mistaken for the old *pre*-Glacial "Forest-Bed," first seen, going northward, at

Kessington Cliff. The "Submerged Forest" is of late *post*-Glacial age, and occurs only in places where the valleys open to the sea. The district is a low plateau cut through by many valleys.

The stately inland churches near the Suffolk coast are remarkable for their finely faced flint walls and their noble towers. There are, however, in the neighbourhood of the coast many unpretentious church edifices, as well as the noble keep of Orford, which chronicle the skill, talent and ingenuity of the native race, who, destitute of an abundance of stone material wherewith to erect strong buildings, contrived to use the material at hand, such as it was, with which to build the solid walls that have defied the efforts of countless storms and "tempests" to overthrow them. One of the materials used was "septaria," or cement stones, which are so plentiful in some parts of our London clay. Chelmondiston church is built of septaria, flint and pebbles; the pretty late Norman church standing far away from the haunts of man upon the former soil of Wantisden Heath has a similar construction. The keep of Orford Castle is perhaps the best specimen of London clay masonry. In several instances coralline crag, otherwise used as a fertilizer, has been used for building purposes. This material may be seen in the walls of Sutton, Bromswell and Eyke churches. The two last-named churches still have interesting Norman characteristics marked in their stone arches and doors. Wherstead church is mentioned by one authority as forming in its walls "a good rock collection, with many varieties of granite, gneiss, greenstone, flint, quartzite, sandstone, 'red chalk' and other cretaceous and older rocks."

The detrition of the sea-shore has laid bare or revealed another of earth's secrets, and has enabled man to fertilize the barren soil by the addition of artificial manure obtained from the pulverisation of phosphatic nodules. The late Professor Henslow first noticed these pyritized

plant-remains scattered upon the beach of Felixstowe; and it was left to Mr. Packard to establish what was for some years a most thriving industry in Suffolk. Phosphatic nodules are rolled pebbles of London clay. These pebbles, locally known as coprolites, are formed in conjunction with sharks' teeth and teeth of land animals, such as the pig, rhinoceros, tapir, deer, horse, etc.; the ribs and earbones of whales are in greatest abundance. The thin layer of London clay lying at the bottom of the red crag has been much worked for these specimens. The red crag is essentially a sand, generally coarse and strongly coloured with iron peroxide; it is a marvellous accumulation of fossils, and is crowded with marine shells. Coralline crag before the formation of red crag occupied a much greater area than now. It is marked by its corals; the most noted pits are at Gedgrave, Ramsholt and Sutton. Crag is a deposit formed in a mere geologic second; a heaping up of loose materials on or near a shore. It was formed as sand-banks, inhabited by minute shell-fish, in a tidal course, exposed to violent fluctuations of the sea and to drifts from land waters. It is an old beach of the German Ocean, and with the substratum of London clay furnishes innumerable geological specimens to fill the cases of local public and private museums.

It has been shewn that the rivers Alde, Ore, and Blyth, and the Butley stream had not sufficient strength of current to clear away the bars of shingle and sand which collected at their mouths. The Orwell and Deben rivers, however, with their volume of water to some extent have kept their estuaries clear, although it has always been necessary to obtain the services of a local pilot to gain a safe entrance into the rivers. There has always been a safe anchorage in these streams and in Hollesley Bay, where the landing from the shore was so easy that Nelson considered it highly probable that Napoleon would select it as a landing-

place for his army of invasion. It was in order that protection from the possibility of this occurrence might be secured that Martello towers were erected along the coast from Felixstowe to Hollesley. The many "gates" along this part of the coast—Wadgate, Buregate, Micklegate, Havergate, Burgesgate—mark the existence of old landing stages; and the "wicks"—Manwick, Granewick, Harwich, Kesewick, Ipswich, Dunwich—denote the creeks which, of old, were favourable shelters for shipping.

It is difficult to say what may be the true meaning of the word "Orewell," which has evidently been adopted at all times to denote the estuary of the Gipping. This river rises at Rattlesden from a spring to which is given the name of Airewell in a seventeenth century survey of Rattlesden, but a much older map names the mouth of the Ipswich river Auwelle. Whatever etymologists may agree upon as the right derivation of the word, whether from the Old Norse *Aar*, shingle, or from the Anglo-Saxon *Arewela*, the sea, it is clear that the term *ore* refers to water in both the words Orford and Orewell, and that the latter was not, as is asserted by many to have been the case, a place upon one of the banks of the estuary. The Norse pirates, who upon two occasions plundered and destroyed the ancient town of Gippeswic, sailed up the Orewell; it was upon the shores of this estuary that the Flemish mercenaries of the Earl of Leicester landed in 1164; it was upon its waters that Edward I. and Edward III. collected their fleets before their expeditions to Flanders; and it was at Orewelle (*en Essex à Orewelle prede Harwich*) that Queen Isabella, Prince Edward, Sir Roger Mortimer, Sir John de Hainault, and other armed men in their company landed "to destroy the enemies of the realm."

The last invasion of England upon the same spot was by the Dutch, July 3rd, 1667. Eight Dutch ships out of the twenty-five which were lying off the Whiting and Bardsey Sands sent great clouds of smoke on towards

Landguard Fort to conceal the landing of 2,000 men at Felixstowe. About 4 p.m. the Suffolk forces advanced in close order; and 500 Dutch soldiers were detached from the main body to meet them, with a strong body of pikes and three "drakes" (culverins), with which they cleared the lines and hedges. Slowly, and with difficulty, did the Earl of Suffolk advance his men. Meanwhile 400 of the enemy, under cover of the smoke from their vessels, approached the fort with scaling ladders twenty feet in length, carrying hand grenades, drawn cutlasses, and muskets, and came to close quarters with the garrison. The reception they received when discovered "was brisk;" after an assault lasting thirty minutes they were repulsed. They took shelter behind banks of sand, but again advanced to attack the fort, to be once more repulsed, this time leaving their arms and ladders behind them, and "one dead Fleming with a cheese under his arm." They retired to the main body stationed at Felixstowe Cliff, where they stood under arms from 11 p.m. to 2 a.m., when, the tide floating their boats, they got off to their ships and sailed away. "The loss was uncertain; only one man was killed in the Fort, but four Dutchmen were killed before it."

Upon the site of this engagement had once stood the Castle of the Bigots ("*castrum fractum* in 1307"). There stood the manor hall surrounded by a wall with large gates (portas), and also a small religious house of Benedictine monks, six in number, as a cell to the monastery of St. Andrew, Rochester. Many of the wardens or custodians of the cell of St. Felix were advanced to the office of prior of the mother house at Rochester. Judging from yearly accounts rendered by the warden in the reign of Henry VII., the monks of St. Felix fraternised with their neighbours, sympathising with them in their distresses, rejoicing with them when they rejoiced. Thus we find two-pence was given to the King and Queen of the May; three shillings was

distributed at the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin; a bushel of wheat and a bushel of barley were given to Thrum's wife, inasmuch as her house was burnt, and her husband and two children burnt by the fire; and twenty pence was given to divers beggars.

The estuary of the Deben has always been known as the port of Gosford, from the passage over the river, at a spot on the right bank of the stream in Fakenham, called Gosford Marshes. The shipping of the port was very extensive; it included that of all the parishes which are adjacent to the river Deben on both sides. The importance of its shipping is seen in "the roll of the huge fleete of Edward the third before Calice (1346) extant in the King's great wardrobe in London, whereby the wonderful strength of England by sea in those days may appeare." The record of Suffolk shipping as given in this roll, and mentioned by Richard Hakluyt, Rector of Wetheringset (1590-1616), is as follows:—

Donwich	Ships 6. Mariners 102.	Gosford	Ships 13. Mariners 303.
Orford	Ships 3. Mariners 62.	Ipswich	Ships 12. Mariners 239.

The state of the shipping of Suffolk in 1338 is given in Appendix C.

The account of Orford and its castle will be found narrated elsewhere in these pages. Aldeburgh, the next town of importance upon the coast, has still standing close to the shore its quaint picturesque town-hall erected in the fifteenth century. The townsfolk obtained unenviable notoriety for their persecution of witches in 1646. It was at Aldeburgh that Martin Frobisher, the navigator, was taken prisoner as a pirate, and sent to London to be confined in the Marshalsea.

The most ancient, and, therefore, necessarily the most interesting historically, of Suffolk coast-towns is the old Roman station of Sitomagus, known to Saxons in the time of the venerable Bede as Dunmoc, and to us as Dunwich.

Few are the vestiges of the old town which remain; there is not a church now standing in the present town which was a place of worship in pre-Reformation times. Old folk say the bells of the submerged churches may still be heard ringing beneath the waves of the sea. This is imagination; for the roofless walls and nave of the ruined church of All Saints, now standing on the edge of the cliff, show how the other buildings fell gradually to decay and became a prey to the ocean. Gardiner, the historian of Dunwich, quoting from Stowe's *Chronicles*, gives credit to the statement that "in ancient time it was a City having brazen gates, 52 churches, chapels, religious houses and hospitals, a King's palace, a bishop's seat, a mayor's mansion and a mint." This is a highly exaggerated statement. The churches in the whole Deanery of Dunwich with all its parishes amounted in 1256 to only forty-eight in number. Dunwich in the time of Domesday, 1086, had three churches; two hundred years later the churches were those of St. Nicholas, St. Martin, St. Peter, St. Leonard, All Saints' Church, and the church of St. John the Baptist. At no time did the churches and religious houses of Dunwich exceed the number ten. The brazen gates are also mythical; that there were gates, as the Lepers' Gate and South Gate, is true, but they were only unpretentious erections over the roadway leading across the "palesdyk" or ditch which surrounded the city. The character of this fosse may be seen from the size and extension of the "King's ditch," which surrounds the "old burg" which lies south of the church ruins. The many quaint and valuable articles of antiquity which after a storm lie washed up upon the sands of Dunwich are true tokens of the life of activity, both religious and civil, which pervaded the streets of the lost city when its burgesses were wealthy merchants and its fisherfolk numerous and free. Seeing what an erroneous view exists as to the early character of the town,

it may be well to give one or two facts concerning its history which are to be found written in the Court Rolls of the borough at the time the events themselves happened.

In the days of Edward III. it was reported that the church of St. Nicholas was taxed to the value of six and a half marks, but that in 1342 it was of no greater value than fifty pence, since that in the time of the first taxation there were in the parish three hundred houses, whose inhabitants rendered oblations and gifts to the church, but in 1342 only eighteen houses remained. The prior of Eye was unable to obtain his dues from the parish on account of "the debility of the church." The taxes of the churches of St. Leonard and St. John remained unaltered; but of the hundred houses in the parish of St. Martin only seven remained which had not fallen a prey to the ravages of the sea. No chaplain would serve at the altar, for there were no gifts. Likewise at the church of St. Peter the altar would have remained unserved had it not been that the bishop of the diocese compelled a chaplain to remain, giving him a small pittance; the whole parish was devastated and depopulated. There were, besides, the chapel of St. Mary, which formerly belonged to the Knights Templars, the "Mesonn Dieu," a free chapel belonging to the king, and a lepers' hospital. Of the Temple of Dunwich we read that in 1287 Adam le Trumpere of Chelmondiston, who was a thief, fled to the Temple for sanctuary, as also did Reginald Sefare of Gylingham, Henry Stelte of Colness, and William Filisol of Little Ocle, in Essex. The Temple had been founded before 1185 by a gift of the king, to which John of Cove added the gift of a windmill. When the lands of the Knights Templars fell into the king's hands, the warden was allowed to remain for thirty-seven weeks three days, receiving 28s. for his wages, at 9d. per week. The wages of Richard Osmunde, the chaplain, were 3d. per day; the

chaplain who served the chapel at Dingle received 2d. per day, and his clerk, who assisted in the same chapel, was paid 2d. per week. Among the goods of the Temple were gold and silver cups, thirty-five gold florins, seven gold rings, and money in a purse to the value of £111 14s. 6¼d.; a mattress, value 6d.; ninety-nine lambs, value 49s. 6d.; two chests, in which were eight Papal Bulls and a pix of no value; one pair of organs, 12d.; four whole vestments, 29s. 8d.; a cross of silver, 18d.; a chalice of gold, 16s.; one old chalice, 3s.; various books of offices, two small chests with relics of saints, of no value, one pix with the Eucharist, stone from a quarry in Normandy, 13s. 4d., twenty cheeses, 2s. 6d., and various other goods given up by John de Medefield, their former custodian. We learn from a later record that the Temple was a small round church thatched with reeds.

Sanctuary was taken by Albert of Jena in the church of the Friar Preachers, John Grimsby fled to All Saints' Church, and John de Oyntur, who had stolen lead from the church of St. Nicholas, took refuge in the church of St. John. The churchyard of St. Nicholas became part of the grounds of the Friar Preachers, the church itself having fallen into ruins in the early part of the fifteenth century (1413). At the same period the church of St. Peter was still standing, for we are told that a carpenter, John of Eye, whilst occupied about the repairs of the roof of the chancel, fell off the scaffolding and was killed.

The establishment of religious houses, to whom the use of market and fairs was granted, caused a heavy loss to the burgesses of the privileges bestowed upon them by the charter of King John. This monarch is said to have only once visited the Suffolk coast, and that upon the occasion of granting this charter to Dunwich. Heavy losses were also incurred by the attacks of rebel barons. Earl Bigot, in the reign of Edward I., besieged Dunwich both by land and sea for six days. He sent ships and

barges of armed men, who entered the town and seized the inhabitants, whom he imprisoned at Kelsale. But the greatest misfortunes fell upon the townsfolk when Southwold became a thriving port, and when the ships of Walberswick refused to pay the customary toll. The settlement of a suit between the men of Dunwich and of Southwold as to the right to a puncheon of whisky cast up by the sea cost the burgesses of Dunwich £1,000. Gradually the merchants from the neighbouring villages quitted the Dunwich market, and the stalls once occupied by mercers, drapers, bakers, butchers, and pedlars were deserted. The burgesses of Dunwich had been seised of various customs of the towns of Walberswick, Blythburgh, Southwold, and Easton as parcel of the ferm of Dunwich. All twelve-oar boats of Walberswick paid annually five shillings each; every merchant of Blythburgh and Walberswick paid six shillings and eightpence; and the fishing boats of Southwold paid four shillings, and those of Easton Bavent one shilling each four times a year during the fishing seasons, and in addition all fishing boats coming into the port of Dunwich paid two shillings. All these dues were lost to the town when approach to the Dunwich quays became impracticable. Gradually the streets of the old city became silent and still, and the inhabitants left the empty market-place to reside in other towns upon the shore which were rising into importance with the development of their coasting trade.

Lowestoft was one of these new centres of industry. It had long been the rival of Yarmouth, but it was not until of late years that it became one of the leading ports on the Suffolk shore. Lowestoft in the sixteenth century made its first steps towards that prominent position which it now holds among the towns on the East Coast. Before that period it was a quiet fishing hamlet; its industry was often checked by long and bitter disputes with Yarmouth. On one occasion dread of a far more distant foe caused loss to the fisherfolk. The Pope's interest in the fishermen

of the Suffolk coast is seen by the issue of a Papal Bull in 1242, whereby permission was granted to the toilers of the deep to eat flesh in Lent, because they had not been able to go to the herring-fishing as usual for fear that the Tartars, who at that time threatened to invade Europe, might come and ransack their homes during their absence.

The herring fishery dispute between Yarmouth and Lowestoft was settled by a Royal Commission, consisting of William de Ufford, John Cavendish, Robert Boys, and Roger de Wolfreston. The dispute was settled in favour of Yarmouth. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the riot of 1381, which followed the dispute, the inhabitants rose in a body and pillaged the houses and homesteads on the royal estate held by the members of the commission as trustees. In the rebellion of Ket, 1546, the rioters stole the guns from Lowestoft to carry out an attack upon Yarmouth.

The inhabitants of Suffolk, especially those dwelling in the island of Lothingland, warmly supported the cause of Queen Mary. The district of Lowestoft was most subject to discontent in the reign of Elizabeth. It was reported to her council that the soil of the island was extremely fertile, and that cattle were reared without much expense within the rich marshlands. Its very fertility, it was said, induced Francis Throgmorton, Nolloth, and their confederates to hatch a conspiracy to hand over the island to the enemy. Nolloth occupied a dwelling near a storehouse close by Yarmouth, so that when the enemy approached he could fire the magazine and so endanger the town. Henry Jermingham was lord of half the island, and all the recusants it contained were under his protection. They were John Jermingham of Somerleyton, indicted for the share he took in the Norfolk rebellion, and his fellow conspirators, Edmund Bedingfield, John Wentworth, James Hubbard, George Hervey, Robert Bapole, and many

others, all firm adherents to the old Catholic faith. The only Loyalist landowner in the district was one Ruthall. The total number of men capable of bearing arms was seven hundred and twenty-seven, who possessed only "thirty-nine calivars and thirty-six Bowes among them." It was, therefore, determined to fortify the town by the erection of three bulwarks, and by building anew the blockhouse which guarded the roads, and to set up two beacons, so that at the sight of any foreign sails one could be lighted. The two were to be used should the foreign sail be seen approaching the shore.

Although the antiquity of Lowestoft is not such as to permit us to expect to see within it any old memorials of the past, yet there are in the town ancient vaults, narrow scores, and a noble church which are of interest. Within the island of Lothingland itself are the Bell Barrow, Burgh Castle, St. Olave's Priory, Fritton Church, and the ruins of Flixton and Corton churches, all of which demand more than a flying visit.

THE CHAUCERS OF SUFFOLK

By the Editor

"GEOFFREY CHAUCER was born in London about 1340 (not 1328, as was formerly said). His father was John Chaucer, citizen and vintner, of London, and his mother's name was Agnes. His grandfather was Robert Chaucer, of *Ipswich* and London." Such is the opening statement of a *Life of Chaucer* written by Professor Skeat, the ablest and most painstaking editor of the works of the "founder of English poetry." This, too, is the view of Chaucer's ancestry which is now generally accepted by the leading students of English literature; but as the statement concerning Chaucer's parents is based solely upon research made among the City of London manuscripts and Government records, it is conceivable that the valuable records belonging to the Ipswich Corporation will, if examined, throw interesting and additional light upon the social status and history of Chaucer's forebears. An examination of this kind will also tend to assist students better to understand the poet's allusions to the social life of his times, for among the records exist many documents describing the contemporary judgment of events similar to those upon which Chaucer bases the stories which he puts into the mouths of his Canterbury pilgrims. The Ipswich records, in fact, do allude to many incidents in the life history of Chaucer's relatives which bear a strong resemblance to those to be found in the poet's narratives.

Seal of John Chaucer.

Seal of William de Grendon, Scrivener.
(Arc. Deed E. 465.)

It is surprising, seeing the amount of industry that has been expended upon the production and annotation of Chaucer's works, and the diligence which has been displayed for many generations by the editors of his writings to obtain a true account of the life of the poet and of his parentage, that no efforts have been made to ascertain how far the Ipswich records may be of assistance in this direction. Doubtless it was due to the confused state in which these records were kept until very recent years that this source of information was neglected. Nicholas Bacon, who was Recorder of Ipswich during the time of the Commonwealth, made a careful collection of the "annals" of the borough, which has been lately published. The editor of this publication, however, failed to see that the "Richard Chancer" of Bacon's manuscript was the Richard Chaucer who was the stepfather of the poet, and who, until the fortunate discovery of Mr. Walter Rye, of Norwich, was considered to have been either the father or the grandfather of Geoffrey Chaucer. The misreading of *Chancer* for *Chaucer* is of frequent occurrence in the transcribing of early manuscripts. Dr. Cordy Jeffreson has made the same slip in his excellent and voluminous report on the Ipswich Corporation records, which he forwarded to the Historical Manuscripts Commission. In referring to a release of the fourteenth century he gives the name of the grantee as Symond de Pekham, *chancier*, instead of *chaucier*. Great credit is due to Mr. Jeffreson for the excellent report which he made, and for the order which he produced out of the chaotic condition in which he found the borough records. But for his successful labours this paper would not have existed, and the extent to which Chaucer's ancestors were connected with the history of Ipswich could never have been known.

The *chaucer* trade flourished at the end of the thirteenth century and during the fourteenth century.

It was of French origin, and was adopted in England when commercial intercourse between England and France was affected by the continuance of the Hundred Years' War, and when French fashions were prevalent at the English court. The Saxon *hosen* gave place to the French *chausses*. These garments were made of cloth, linen, or silk, and were in no way connected with leathern coverings for the feet. In France the makers of *chausses* were *chauciers;* in England, woolmongers, *drapers*, *hosiers*,[1] and vintners were among those persons who followed the trade of a *chaucer*.

While the calling of the shoemaker and cordwainer was designated by the Latin name *calcearius*, the chaucer's trade was always designated by the term *caligarius*, as also was the trade of the hosier. It is a mistake to consider that the chaucer's trade was connected with that of the cordwainer simply because the residences of chaucers were in several instances in the Cordwainer Street Ward, where hosiers also carried on their trade; the chaucers' shops were not confined to that quarter. There are numerous instances of chaucers dwelling in the other wards of the City. The chaucers of London did not confine themselves to the sale of chausses, but were members of the merchant class who exported wool and cloths to Flanders, and imported wine and other produce from France. Their large taverns formed depôts for the sale of wines, cloth, hosiery, and chausses; it is, therefore, among the taverners and vintners of the City that we find the chaucers of London. Although occasional mention is made of chaucers in other towns of England, these

[1] The Colchester Corporation Records (4-6 Edward II., 3-4 Edward III.) clearly prove that the *Chaucers* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were *Hosiers*. John, son of *Gerard le Chaucer*, was fined for entering the borough prison in 1310. This Gerard le Chaucer is mentioned in various entries as *le Hosier* as well as *le Chaucer*. So, also, members of the family of Bartholomew *le Chaucer*, of Colchester, are mentioned under the names Bartholomew *le Hosier*, Juliana *la Hosier*, and Richard *le Hosier*, their son, as well as under the names *le Chaucer*.

chaucers were all City burgesses carrying on the various branches of their calling in the provinces. Members of the trading community of the fourteenth century had not their dwellings fixed in one town; they were burgesses of more than one borough in which they held the privileges belonging to the merchant class. In the entries of the admission of apprentices to the freedom of the City, the apprentices named as chaucers are stated to have served the term of their apprenticeship under masters occupied in other trades, such as gorgerer, hosier, draper, and pepperer, but the trade was principally connected with the woollen industry.

The *French Chronicle of London*, when it describes the execution of Sir Thomas de Turbeville for treason, in 1295, gives the earliest mention of the use of chausses in England. It states that the knight came from the Tower mounted on a sorry nag and clad in a coat of ray. He was *chaucé de blaunche chauces*, his head was covered with a hat, his feet were tied under the belly of the horse, and his hands were fast bound behind him. Some chausses were of cloth of one colour. Geoffrey Chaucer's knight, Sir Topas, wore "shoon" of cordewane:

> "Of Bruges were his hosen brown,
> His robe was of ciclatoun
> That cost many a jane."

The fops and beaux of the day wore more extravagant attire. Their hosen were discarded for tight-fitting silk or cloth chausses, striped and of various colours. No material was more suitable for the production of these garments than the striped rays, vesses or sette cloths of Suffolk, and the cloth imported into the county from Flanders. Chaucer states that in the superfluity of clothing there was much "endentinge or barringe, oundinge, paling, winding, or bending, and semblable waste of cloth in vanitee;" long-cut gowns "trailed in the donge and in the mire." Other men went to the opposite extreme in the matter of dress: "there was

horrible disordinate scantness of clothing, cutted sloppes or hanselins," which allowed a free exhibition of legs, "clad in hoses departing in whyte and reed," or in varied cloths of other colours, "whyte and blew, whyt and blak, or blak and reed."

Fuller, in his *Church History of Britain*, comments upon the arms borne by Chaucer. He states that some wits consider the poet to have adopted for his arms a coat *parti per pale argent and gules*, "departing in whyt and reed" to represent the dashing of red and white wine (the parents of our modern claret), "as nicking his father's profession of a vintner," but I am inclined to believe that, as they are not the arms represented on the seal of John Chaucer, the vintner, the poet adopted or selected an example of canting heraldry, depicting on his tricked shield the common and oft-seen white and red chausses of the period. There is, however, another view of this question. It is well known that Chaucer appeared as a witness in 1386 to give testimony in the Court of Chivalry in the dispute as to the right to bear certain arms between Sir Richard le Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor, before Sir John de Derwentwater, in the refectory of Westminster Abbey. It seems hardly credible, then, that the poet should have adopted arms almost similar to those borne by the Waldegraves, prominent citizens of London and owners of landed estates at Bures St. Mary and the neighbourhood, unless he claimed some relationship with the Waldegrave family. The arms of Richard de Waldegrave depicted in *Cott. MS., Julius C. vii., fol.* 158*a*, are the same as those on the seal attached to *Anc. Deed, DS* 79, which bears the legend *Si. Ghofrai Chaucier.* The Waldegraves obtained the estates at Bures by marriage with Joan, heiress of Silvester of Ipswich and Bures. The arms of the Silvesters were the same as those which we see upon the seal used by Agnes, wife of John Chaucer:— *ermine on a chevron sable* 3 (? crosses engrailed *or*).

Seal of (?) John Long, used by Agnes Chaucer.

Seal of John Chaucer.
(Anc. Deed A. 1471.)

The name "Chaucer" written upon the tab of parchment to which the seal is affixed seems to imply that John Chaucer used an old family seal in addition to his own usual seal. In 1280, Robert le Chaucer, the father of John Chaucer of Ipswich, held a tavern in Tavern Street, which was formerly the property of the Silvesters, but I am unable to say whether he became its owner by purchase or by descent.[1]

The Vintries of London and Ipswich were scenes of commercial activity. Numerous taverns were situated alongside the stalls containing market produce and foreign merchandise. In each was to be found a Cloth Hall and a quarter known as the "Mercerie," where silk goods were exposed for sale. In the Ipswich Vintry was the Fleshmarket or "Cowerie" and the "Henne-market" or Poultry; in the midst of the latter was the tavern of Robert le Chaucer, or, as he is named in an early rental of the Priory of Holy Trinity, Ipswich, Malyn of London. The vintners of London were of old time called the Merchant Vintners of Gascoigne, and were under the king's special protection. To them was given the privilege of dealing in the sale of cloth, from which other traders were restricted. In 1310 Edward II. issued an order that no one was to injure the Gascons coming to the city, and he ordered the arrest of the old offenders, Nicholas, valet of John of Suffolk, Robert le Chaucer (the supposed grandfather of Geoffrey Chaucer), Benedict of Suffolk, Thomas of Suffolk, and others. Stowe mentions a Robert of Suffolk,

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1 Recent investigations as to the ownership of the seals attached to various Chaucer records enable me to write with certainty as to the seals used by Agnes, the wife of John Chaucer, on *Anc. Deeds*, *A*, 1603, and *E*, 465. The seal on A, 1603, is that of John Long de Norton, of Hackney; he may have been the John Long, guardian of John Chaucer, of Ipswich. The letters I L U N G are visible in the interlacings of the ornament on the seal. The second seal corresponds to a perfect seal on *Anc. Deeds*, *A*, 1595, on which the complete legend is *Sig. Willelmi de Grendon.* He was the scrivener who drew up the deed. (*See also Cal. of City of London Letter Books*, *H*, *p.* 34.) A Luke de Grendon was a *Chaucer* in Bradstreet Ward, City (*Exch. Accts.*, *K.R.*, $\frac{102}{18}$).

who at this period resided in a lane called Les Arches. He was probably Robert of Suffolk, taverner and vintner, who purchased tenements in the Vintry Ward of Robert of Kingeston in 1278. He had a son, Alan of Suffolk, and was not the Robert le Chaucer who assaulted the Gascon vintners.

The use of surnames was not then fixed; the same person was known under different names not only in various districts, but in the same town. Sometimes the trade-calling was added to the Christian name, sometimes to the surname; at other times the name of the place where the person held property was added to these names. Occasionally the surname was used without an additional cognomen. We find the following persons named in the City Subsidy Rolls for 1310:— Richard le Chaucer and Elias le Chaucer in the Cordwainer Street Ward, Elias le Chaucer and Chivellus, the king's chaucer, in the Chepe Ward, Richard Chaucer and Luke le Chaucer in Bradstreet Ward, Robert le Chaucer and Henry le Chaucer in Castle Baynard Ward, Philip le Chaucer in Billingsgate Ward, Walter le Chaucer in Aldresgate Ward, and William le Taverner (chaucer) in Farendon Ward and Cordwainer Street Ward. The addition of a place-name in some cases furnishes a clue to enable us to form an opinion as to the family to which the chaucer belonged; thus we may see in Elias le Chaucer, Elias de Dene, chaucer; in Robert le Chaucer, Robert de Banbury, chaucer, and so on; but, even under these circumstances, it would be difficult to ascertain who was Richard Chaucer or Richard le Chaucer, and it is more than probable that we have in William le Taverner, chaucer, of Farendon Ward, a distinct person from William le Chaucer, taverner, of Cordwainer Street Ward. Persons were rated in the ward where they resided, not in each ward where they held property. If the surname, or family name, is given in the records, together with the place-name and trade-name, then the

work of ascertaining the history of any particular family is made easy. Let us consider the following example.

Among the residents of Cordwainer Street Ward in 1336 was a certain Thebaud le Chaucer. The name Thebaud, Tebaud, or Theobald at first sight appears to be here used as a Christian name, but all who are acquainted with the history of Suffolk families immediately recognise the possibility of Thebaud le Chaucer belonging to the Theobald family of Suffolk. This probability turns out to be a reality. In and before the fourteenth century the family of Theobald numbered among its members and connections some of the leading wool and cloth merchants of Sudbury, a town long famous for its weaving industries. A Simon Theobald, better known as Simon of Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, was the chief victim of the rebellion of Wat Tyler in 1381. He and his brother, John de Chertsey, founded a college for a warden, five secular canons, and three chaplains in the parish of St. Gregory, Sudbury. Part of the endowments of this college consisted of a messuage and three shops in St. Michael's, Cornhill, London, and a manor of Neles (Nigels), in Sudbury. It is among the chaucers that we first find this Sudbury family in London, for the Thebaud le Chaucer of Cordwainer Street Ward, 1336, was Nigel Theobald, father of Simon Sudbury, the Archbishop. In 1307 Nigel Thebaud of Sudbury was apprenticed to Philip le Chaucer, and, after a service of five years, was admitted to the freedom of the City upon the payment of five shillings, instead of the usual sum of half-a-crown paid by the City apprentices, because he was admitted a burgess before the end of his apprenticeship (*Letter Book D.*, p. 175). He followed the trade of a chaucer (*Subsidy Roll*, 6 *Edw. III.*), and by his wife Sarah was the father of Simon of Sudbury and John of Chertsey. The latter son was, like his father, both a chaucer and draper of London and a wool merchant of Sudbury.

Nigel Theobald was a strong supporter of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, and for his adherence to the cause of that noble was deprived of his lands in Suffolk as a "Contrariant." This Sudbury family was also represented by William of Sudbury, Bishop of Chichester, who held lands in Chertsey which descended to John, son of Nigel Theobald, whence he obtained the name John Chertsey, chaucer and draper, of London. It is also possible that Adam Thebaud, or Tybold, of Sudbury—who was ordained acolyte and sub-deacon and appointed Archdeacon of Middlesex, September 23rd, 1363, by Simon of Sudbury —was of the same family as the Archbishop. After holding the office of Archdeacon of Middlesex for a few months, he exchanged this office and became Rector of Rougham, where he founded the manor of Sudbury's. There were in the fourteenth century many other Sudbury cloth merchants holding residences in London. Among them was Robert Darri, wool merchant, who was accused of the murder of his guest and fellow-countryman, Hervey of Playford, 1315. He was not convicted of the crime, and lived to become mayor of his native town, 1331.

It was not only wool merchants who left Suffolk to carry on their businesses in London. There were Alan the vintner, Alan the potter, Alan the cordwainer, Alan the taverner, John the skinner, Elias the goldsmith, Osbert and Alexander, among many others representing different families and professions, all known by the name "of Suffolk" of London. Ipswich, as well as Bury St. Edmunds, was well represented by its distinguished craftsmen. Besides the Master of the Mint and William, the skilful carver of the statuettes on Queen Eleanor's Cross in London, there were Robert the cutler, Robert the taverner, Robert the goldsmith, John the mercer, Roger the skinner, William Turnebaston, and many others spoken of among their fellow-citizens as "of Ipswich." Small hamlets and secluded villages in

Suffolk sent up deft artisans to swell the number of City toilers, or men of genius capable of directing the government of the affairs of the metropolis; such men were: Richard de Cavendish, Fulk of Bury St. Edmunds, Richard de Hawkesdon, John of Yaxley, the king's pavilion maker, Oliver de Ingham, John de Hinton, and "Adam atte Ponde de Alnesbourne, county Suffolk."

Traders, merchants, and manufacturers flocked to Ipswich as well as to London from all parts of Suffolk. Many families of French extraction settled within the borough at a time when Ipswich was the chief trading centre with Flanders. Thus we find the Sudbury family of St. Quintyn, who were entered upon the list of "Merchants of Amiens, in France," exporting wool from Ipswich contrary to the king's inhibition. There were among the leading burgesses of Ipswich at this period, representing noble Suffolk families, Gilbert Robert de Melford, Hugh de Naunton, Philip Harneys, William de Wachesham, William de Causton, Adam de Westhale, and Andrew Malyn de Dennington. As the latter family had dealings with John Malyn, wool merchant of Amiens, it appears probable that it, too, was of French extraction, and this will account for the adoption by Robert Malyn, the son of Andrew de Dennington, of the French term "le Chaucer" to signify the trade in which he was engaged. His father was also known among the burgesses of Ipswich as "Andrew the Taverner." This is the Ipswich family from which Geoffrey Chaucer, the poet, is considered to have been descended, and which was the leading Chaucer family in Suffolk. I have been able to trace another Chaucer family of Suffolk besides the Theobalds of Sudbury and the Malyns of Ipswich, viz., the family of Sivelesho, near Cowlinge (*Letter Books*, *A.* 118, *D.* 63). As Sudbury may claim to have given a leading cleric and statesman in the days of the unfortunate Richard II., so Ipswich may claim the honour of

having found, at the same period, among its leading burgesses, men who were closely connected with the family of Geoffrey Chaucer, the poet.

The earliest published record relating to the Chaucer family (*Life Records of Chaucer*, vol. iv., by G. E. Kirke) refers to an agreement made between Robert le Chaucer (? the poet's grandfather) and Mary his wife, and Ralph le Clerk of Edmonton, concerning the sale of lands at Edmonton. This Ralph le Clerk was also known as Ralph Crepyn, clerk, of Aldgate; his son was Walter Crepyn of Gloucester, goldsmith, and was probably connected with the Crepyn, or Crepingge, family of Suffolk. It is interesting to know that the mother of Robert le Chaucer of Ipswich was Isabella, daughter of Walter the goldsmith, but he could not have been Walter Crepyn the goldsmith, for Isabella's mother was Agnes Goldsmith of Ipswich, widow in 1280.

The earliest record among the manuscripts which belong to the Ipswich Corporation, and which throws any light upon the history of the Chaucer family of Ipswich, is the enrolment of a charter between Hugh de Stanton and Gilbert Robert de Melford, 1322, wherein statement is made that Robert le Chaucer and Walter de Westhale formerly held a tavern abutting upon the churchyard of St. Mary le Tower. An earlier record (1288) shows that this tavern was held by Walter the goldsmith and Andrew Malyn de Dennington, his son-in-law. It was held in 1322 by both Robert Malyn, *le chaucer*, and Walter de Westhale, because the latter claimed a moiety of the tavern in right of his wife, Agnes Malyn, sister of Robert le Chaucer. It was the dispute between Richard le Chaucer and Mary his wife, widow of Robert le Chaucer, and Agnes Malyn, widow of Walter de Westhale, and Geoffrey Stace, her future husband (1328), concerning the right to the moiety of the Ipswich tavern, as well as to the wardship of John Chaucer, son of Robert le Chaucer, which enabled

Mr. Walter Rye to assert that Robert le Chaucer, and not Richard le Chaucer, was the grandfather of Geoffrey Chaucer. This conclusion is supported by an Ipswich record, wherein John Chaucer styles himself as John le Chaucer of London, son of Robert, son of Andrew de Dennington of Ipswich, and certifies the right of Geoffrey Stace and Agnes his wife to sell the tavern to Richard of Leyham, July 25th, 1343.

An early rental of the Priory of Holy Trinity, Ipswich, 1260 (as before stated), mentions the tavern as being held by Malyn of London; and a subsequent rental, 1280, mentions one Dulce Malyn as holding a tavern which was formerly held by Robert the Taverner. It is probable that Robert Malyn, a French merchant of Amiens and of London, held with his wife, Dulce, the tavern in Ipswich, and that the numerous Malyns, merchants, vintners, taverners, clerks, and cooks, of Ipswich were their descendants. This Robert the Taverner of Ipswich is called in an old deed Robert de Dinhivetune, and may therefore have been the father of Andrew Malyn of Dennington.

The earliest Malyn whom I can find mentioned in the City of London records was the holder of the Vine Tavern, Cordwainer Street Ward, 1337, which was held by Thomas of Beccles, woolmonger, in 1333. The word Malyn may be connected with the name Malines, or Malyns, derived from Meschines, or Mechlin, the name of a town in Belgium, not from Mallinge, a town in Kent. The word Malin was also a contracted form of Maudelayne, or Magdalene. Richard Magdalene of London, clerk, a devoted follower of Richard II., dressed himself up in the guise of the king, when that monarch was in captivity, in order to arouse the people in his cause. He was captured at Cirencester and executed. A John Maudelayne was apprentice to John de Hinton, vintner, of Cordwainer Street Ward, son of Elias of Suffolk. John de Hinton and Thomas de Hinton were

companions of Geoffrey Chaucer at the court of Queen Philippa. Maudelayne and Malin were names frequently given to ships. The poet introduces among his Canterbury pilgrims a shipman:

> . . . . . "woning fer by weste,
> For aught I know he was of Dartemouthe,
> His barge y-cleped was *the Maudelayne*."

William Malyn of Ipswich had a ship named the *Malin*. Geoffrey Chaucer gives the name of Simon the Miller's daughter as Malin.

The life history of the Chaucer-Malyn family of Ipswich was a chequered one; strifes, quarrels, losses, and early deaths were frequently its misfortune. Of the earliest founders we possess very little information, but judging from the extensive property which they held in and around Ipswich, they must have been men of wealth and influence. Robert the Taverner, Andrew of Dennington, his son, and Robert le Chaucer, his grandson, left widows to administer their estates, and infants who were the wards of strangers.

Robert Malyn, *le chaucer*, died in 1315, a year in which the City, in common with the rest of the kingdom, suffered greatly from a scarcity of provisions, which eventually produced a complete famine, although statutes were made to limit the consumption and restrain the prices of corn and meat. A grievous mortality of people followed this famine, so that the living were scarcely able to bury the dead. Horseflesh was counted a great delicacy; the poor stole dogs to eat; some devoured their own children. Thieves in prison slaughtered and ate new-comers.

At the time of his father's death, John Chaucer of Ipswich, the reputed parent of Geoffrey Chaucer, was about three years old; his sister, Isabella, was many years his senior. She was married to Thomas Turgiz, known as Thomas de Blakeney, citizen and draper of London, and had three children—Stephen, Joan, and Cristine. She died before her husband, who married a

second wife, Elizabeth Drake. Thomas de Blakeney died in 1329. Isabella de Blakeney held a tavern in the Cook's Row, now Dial Lane, Ipswich, which had formerly been the property of her father, Robert de Dennington. When John Chaucer was twelve years old he claimed through his guardians (John, son of Richard le Bowyere, and John Lange) the Ipswich Vintry Tavern, then in the hands of his aunt, Agnes Westhale, and the plea was finally heard in the King's Court, November 4th, 1324. At the same time his mother, Mary, then married to her husband Richard, also a chaucer in the Cordwainer Street Ward, demanded, together with her husband, a moiety of a tavern, two shops and a toft as dower of the said Mary. It was found by the jury that John Chaucer was, at the time of the petition, seised of a moiety of the claim, and that as Robert Chaucer had held the other moiety on the day of his espousal to his wife Mary, it belonged to her for the term of her life as dower. The boy, John Chaucer, was, in 1323-4, in the wardship of his stepfather and mother, but his aunt, with the aid of her future husband, Geoffrey Stace, Thomas Stace, his brother, and Lawrence Stace, took him away by force, as it was thought to marry him to his cousin, Joan Westhale. For this offence they were brought to trial, and a verdict was entered up for Richard Chaucer and Mary, his wife, for £250 damages. The marriage between John Chaucer and his cousin Joan did not take place, for the Ipswich records mention her marriage with Robert de Beverley, citizen and cordwainer of London, who had been admitted to the freedom of the City, November, 1312, and must therefore have been nearly twenty years older than John Chaucer. He was afterwards knighted; his sons were in attendance with Geoffrey Chaucer at the court of Queen Philippa. Joan's sister, Sibyl, married William de Knapton,[1] also citizen

[1] William de Knapton was attorney for his mother-in-law, Agnes de Westhalle, in the suit against Richard Chaucer and Mary his wife, when the bailiffs of Ipswich claimed the right to try the cause in their own courts. (*De Banco Roll, No.* 258, 19 *Edw. II., m.* 156*a.*)

and cordwainer, who was admitted to the freedom of the City in the same year as Robert de Beverley. Joan held the Ipswich tavern which stood in the Poultry, and Sibyl retained the tavern which was situated in the Meat Market, and which her father had bought of Richard de Tatyngton. The Westhales also held the manor of Culesle in Alderton. Geoffrey Stace, their stepfather, was son of Thomas Stace of Ipswich, who possessed several taverns standing on the north side of the Butter Market. He was also a London merchant; in 1316 he was robbed by John Alkok, in the Newgate Ward, of goods to the value of £20. He survived his wife Agnes Malyn, and married Cristine, widow of Geoffrey Costyn, who was valet of the Earl of Suffolk, and who was murdered by his guide, Roger Bande, when being conducted from an Ipswich tavern to his quarters in the Priory of Holy Trinity.

The last Ipswich record which bears the name of John Chaucer is dated July 25th, 1343; that is, after the traditional year of the poet's birth, 1340. I have been unable to find any mention of Geoffrey Chaucer in any one of the documents belonging to the borough of Ipswich. Some authorities consider that the John Chaucer who was at Walton in 1338, and who, with William de Northwell, keeper of the king's wardrobe, received royal letters of protection when about to go with the king, in the king's service and by his command, to parts beyond the sea, was the John Chaucer of Ipswich, the poet's father. If so, there is a probable connection of the Malyn-Chaucer family with William de Northwell's family, for by a deed (*circa* 1364) William de Northwell granted extensive estates in Nottinghamshire to his mother Agnes and John de Northwell, son of Agnes Chaucer of London. It is possible, therefore, that Agnes, who was the mother of the poet, was Agnes de Northwell, a widow before her marriage with John Chaucer of Ipswich, citizen and vintner of London. It is known

Seal of John Hairun, alias Heroun. (Anc. Deed B. 1982.)

that she was the niece of Hamo de Copton, moneyer, of London, but her maiden name has not yet been discovered. John Chaucer died in 1366. His widow married Bartholomew atte Chapel, vintner.

His connection with the Northwell family may to some extent account for the royal patronage bestowed upon the poet. Chaucer makes but slight allusion to Suffolk in his poems. He may have given us a portrait of one of his Ipswich ancestors when he wrote of the merchant pilgrim to Canterbury, who "with forked beard, upon his head a Flaundrisch bever hat . . . . wold the see were keepud for enythinge Betwixe Middulburgh and Orwelle."

If the poet, born in 1340, were too young in 1343 to have accompanied his father to Ipswich, he may have visited it in his later years, and may have heard from the lips of "mine hosts" of the Vintry tales of romance and daring in which his ancestors greatly figured; of the simple life of Adam de Westhale, the good parson of Ashbocking; of the attack upon the rapacious miller of Bramford by the Malyns and Stace; and of their midnight poaching in the fish-stews of Christiana de Muse at Brookes Hall. The sober-minded friars, the rubicund cooks, the humble chaplains and palmers, the self-made burgesses who vexed the poor townsfolk—one and all had found hospitality, welcome and shelter in the taverns and homes of Chaucer's Ipswich kinsfolk.

One or two instances will suffice to mark the vicissitudes which attended the lives of the Malyns. Strife reigned in the borough in the days when party warfare was manifested by the landing of hostile forces upon the banks of the Orewell. The supporters of one faction held sway until forced to yield to the rising power of their rivals. Law and order were with difficulty upheld. Albreda, widow of William Malyn, kept the Holly Tavern, on the south side of Tavern Street. A dispute had arisen between her and Roger Bande of

Ipswich as to a certain trespass committed by Bande. Bande visited her tavern on a Sunday in the month of March, 1338, and with a stroke of his sword amputated her left hand. She died from the wound; the murderer escaped to return a few years later to commit a similar crime. The father of Roger Bande had built a house so that from his upper windows he could overlook his neighbours' premises and disturb their privacy. He was compelled to pull down his house, and it was when disputing about this occurrence that Bande slew Geoffrey Costyn.

ADDENDA.

I have recently been able, through the kindness of Dr. Reginald Sharpe, Records Clerk of the City of London, to examine the original entry of the will of Richard Chaucer, 1349. This examination led me to the conclusion that "John le Chaucer, brother of Thomas Hayroun," was Richard Chaucer's *own son*, and not the son of his wife Mary, the widow of Robert le Chaucer of Ipswich, whose son, John Chaucer, was abducted by Geoffrey Stace and Agnes de Westhale. In confirmation of this fact I found among the names of those soldiers who left London to join Henry, Earl of Lancaster, *in 1328*, against Roger Mortimer and Queen Isabella, at Winchester and Bedford, the name of *John le Chaucer, frater Thome Heroun*.[1] Since John Chaucer of Ipswich was under fourteen years of age in December, 1324, he could not have borne arms in October, 1328, as a partisan of Lancaster, especially as Lancaster's company did not consist of City apprentices. This discovery necessitates a further enquiry into the traditional accounts of the poet Chaucer's ancestry.

V. B. R.

[1] *Miscellanea of the Exchequer*, $\frac{1}{17}$ *and* $\frac{1}{18}$. The Seal of John Hairoun shews the probability that the three heads in chief on the seal of John Chaucer may be three crested herons' heads.

SUPERSTITION AND WITCHCRAFT IN SUFFOLK

By the Editor

NO minds are so sensitive to superstitious belief as the mind of the sailor and the deeply religious mind. The fisher-folk of the boisterous northern seas perceive in the wild elements which surround them the same supernatural agencies which their ancestors saw in the days of Odin worship. The rude peasant of "silly Suffolk," imbued with a strong faith in the workings of Providence, has learned to hold fast to all the commands to be found in the pages of Holy Writ: "There shall not be found among you anyone that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a *witch*, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer. For all these things are an abomination unto the Lord." These are commands which ring in his ears; it is required of him to search out the Evil One and to destroy him out of the land.

Fairies and elves are not mentioned in the Bible, so he has little or no concern about them. The comparative tameness of the surrounding district has never permitted the Suffolk native to image the existence of gnomes, ogres, or supernatural monsters; he realises the existence of only imps and demons in the shape of familiar spirits. The only monster known in the county is the "Shock." Within very recent years the writer himself has held conversation with a most devout lady who had no

hesitation in speaking of her visit to a "wise man" of Ipswich, at the same time describing most vividly to her listener the many black imps or "familiars" which he kept to do his biddings. At an inquest held at Fressingfield in April, 1890, the parents of a deceased child, eleven months old, ascribed its death to the influence of the child's maternal grandmother, esteemed by them to be a witch, for she had predicted the infant's death. Witch-pits abound in many Suffolk villages; they contain ponds of water through which the poor suspected woman was dragged to prove her guilt or innocence. A column of *The Times* newspaper for July 19th, 1825, gives an account of a wizard dragged through the churchyard pond of Wickham Skeith in that year. Such cruel practices are impossible in these days; but still there exist throughout the villages of Suffolk many a poor woman who is shunned for her "evil eye," and who in early times would have been doomed to the gallows or would have been burnt on the village green as a witch.

The most celebrated of Suffolk necromancers was Friar Bungay, a Franciscan friar of great learning, whose skill in mathematics and the sciences led people of his day, *circa* 1290, to consider him and his master, Friar Bacon, to be wizards.

The most celebrated of Suffolk witches was Margery Jourdemayne, or Jourdain, of Eye, one of the "naughty persons" with whom the Duchess of Gloucester held intrigue, and one who was consulted by Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, with respect to his conduct and fate during the impending conflicts.

During the time of Catholic supremacy there was great faith in the efficacy of miracles worked through the means of the relics of saints, which were to some extent venerated because of their power to ward off evil. Kings, priests, and nobles, as well as merchants and peasants, sought the protection of saints, and visited the springs in which relics had been cast.

In 1157 Henry II. made a hasty pilgrimage to Bury, where he wore his crown on Whit-Sunday, and, assembling his forces at St. Edmund's Ditch, held a great court before starting on an expedition to Wales. When the Honour of Eye fell into the king's hands he gave it to Beckett, who retained it until the year 1163. This prelate was held in universal esteem throughout Suffolk, as in most counties, if we may judge from the many chapels, chantries, and crosses which were erected to his honour in all its towns and villages after his martyrdom. Froude, in his *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, gives the following pretty story gleaned from *Materials for the History of Thomas à Beckett*:—

"Boys and girls found him always ready to listen to their small distresses. A Suffolk yeoman, William of Ramsholt (a village standing upon the river Deben, about seven miles from its mouth), had invited a party to a feast. A neighbour had made him a present of a cheese, and his little daughter Beatrice had been directed to put it away in a safe place. Beatrice did as she was told, but went to play with her brother, Hugh, and forgot what she had done with it. The days went on, the feast was near. The children hunted in every corner of the house, but no cheese could be found. The nearest town was far off. They had no money to buy another if they could reach it, and a whipping became sadly probable. An idea struck little Hugh. 'Sister,' he said, 'I have heard that the Blessed Thomas is good and kind. Let us pray to Thomas to help us.' They went to their beds, and, as Hugh foretold, the saint came to them in their dreams. 'Don't you remember,' he said, 'the old crock in the back kitchen, where the butter used to be kept?' They sprang up and all was well."

Simultaneously with the destruction of Beckett's remains, in 1538, the chapels and chantries raised to his memory were rededicated or destroyed. It is not an uncommon thing to meet with such entries as "the chapel called St. Thomas' Chapel formerly and now St. John's Chapel." The chantry of St. Thomas à Beckett in Ipswich, the birth-place of the greatest statesman Suffolk has given to England, was re-endowed and subsequently called Daundy's Chantry in honour of Edmund Daundy, a relative of Thomas Wolsey.

We are indebted to Ralph de Coggeshall for the preservation of several stories which mark the superstitions, fears and beliefs which prevailed in Suffolk in the thirteenth century. Notable among these tales is the account of the capture of the "wild man of the sea" at Orford. The Essex monk gives his narrative in words to this effect:—In the days of King Henry II., when Bartholomew Glanville was custodian of Orford Castle, it happened that certain fishermen, whilst fishing in the sea, caught a wild man within the meshes of their nets, whom, naked, and having the form of man in all his limbs, they brought to the castellan. His body was covered with hair; a long, pointed beard reached down to his breast. The creature was placed under guard, and was not permitted to approach the sea. He ate greedily whatsoever was placed before him. He was particularly fond of raw fish, out of which he pressed the water with his hands before eating. When conducted to the church he shewed no respect for sacred things and never bent his knees before the altar. He retired to rest from sunset to sunrise. Once he was permitted to enter the sea within a threefold enclosure of nets. He dived beneath them and reappeared several times beyond, sporting in the open sea until his affections led him to return to his former gaolers. Subsequently he escaped their vigilance never to return.

To explain this marvel the monk refers to *The Life of St. Audoenus*, wherein it is stated that an evil spirit entered the body of a drowned man and made himself manifest to seamen.

The monk of Coggeshall was ever ready to believe the incredulous to have happened in Suffolk. He tells a marvellous story of a boy and a girl issuing from the mouth of a deep ditch at Woolpit St. Mary. Their skins were green, and they claimed to have come from the land of St. Martin and to have been led by the ringing of bells, like those of the Abbey of St. Edmund,

to shew themselves above ground. They were taken to the house of Sir Richard de Colne, at Wikes, where the boy soon died, but the girl remained for a long time in the knight's service. William of Newburgh adds to the chronicle, stating that the trenches were called *Wolfpittes* in English, which gave its name to the town, and that the girl married a man of Lynn. The legend is probably the story of two lost children, who strayed from their homes in Fornham St. Martin (where the Abbey bells of Bury St. Edmunds, two miles distant, could be frequently heard), and who, after wandering for some days, emerged from their covert hiding-place in one of the extensive boundary ditches when they heard the bells of Woolpit ring. The knight was doubtless a relative of Sibilla de Colnia of Wikes, whose son Walter sold lands to Nicholas of St. Edmunds in 1240. His residence at Wikes, or Wicken Hall, lay eight miles north of Woolpit, and was in the parish of Bardwell, where a Richard de Wikes held free warren in the reign of Henry III. Ralph de Coggeshall appears to have obtained another marvellous narrative from the same source as the Woolpit story, judging by the proximity of Dagworth to Woolpit, and the introduction of Osbert de Bradwelle into the legend. In the days of Richard I., we are told by the monk, a grotesque imp *(fantasticus spiritus)* frequently, and for a long time, haunted the house of this knight. The imp had the weak voice of an infant, and called itself Malekin. When taken captive it stated that Lanaham (? Langham, near Wikes Hall) was the place of its birth. It remained a prisoner for seven years, but its fate is not recorded.

Sometimes even the church was safeguarded from the attendance of imps by the fixing of a charm, such as a horse-shoe, within its walls. On one of the bricks which are close to the threshold of the south doorway of Stanningfield Church is a glazed tile, on which is the figure of a horse-shoe, for the purpose, it is said,

of preventing witches entering the church. This tile and horse-shoe are noticed in Brand's *Popular Antiquities* and in Aubrey's *Miscellanies*. However, in spite of this charm, witches were to be found in the parish, for as late as 1792 an unfortunate woman was dragged through the village witch-pond. On one of the panels of the font in Woodbridge Church, representing the Sacrament of Penance, an imp is seen taking speedy flight through the door of the church porch.

Ministers of the church were not esteemed free from the sin of using the power of witchcraft. John Lowes, formerly of Bury St. Edmunds, who succeeded his relative, George Lowes, as vicar of Brandeston, 1596, fell a victim to the persecution for witchcraft in 1646. He was a litigious man, as the archidiaconal registers for 1616 prove, and, doubtless, his parishioners, who had suffered from his exactions, were easily convinced as to his possession of familiar spirits by Matthew Hopkins, whose talents as a witch-finder were despised by his fellow-townsmen of Manningtree, for they preferred the services of the "cunning woman" of Hadleigh, in Suffolk. Many churchwardens' books of East Suffolk bear witness to the cruelties worked by the searchers for witches. The entries in the Ipswich court books for the momentous years 1642 and 1643 enable us in part to understand how deeply Suffolk minds were imbued with the doctrines, sympathy, and sentiments which regulated the actions of the Puritans. Thomas Pounsett was fined 12d. "for playinge at Cardes"; Alexander Reynolds, of Ipswich, clerk, was bound over in the sum of £40 "for wordes concerning the Earl of Essex"; another clerk, Richard Coppinge, of Claydon, was required to find a sum of £100 "for having scandalous verses"; John Belt, tailor, was put into prison "for working on the Fast day"; a similar punishment was awarded to John Saunders, butcher, "for driving cattle on the Fast day"; and to Richard Lowe, musician, "for fiddlinge on the

Fast day at night"; Thomas Borrett, physician, had to find £20 "for disorder in the church"; and Samuel Wright, clerk, of Bromeswell, "for abusing Mr. Bloyse and Mr. Brandling, at the Committee," was ordered to pay a heavy fine. The Ipswich Great Court frequently decided cases which had formerly been carried to the Ecclesiastical Court. In 1465 Samuel Nayler was fined 12d. for using an heretical art contrary to the Catholic faith. In 1607 Rachel Webbe, wife of William Webbe, of Ipswich, was tried because, under the influence of "diabolical seduction," she had feloniously practised diverse evil and iniquitous arts—to wit, fascination, incantation, magic art and witchcraft, enchantments, charms and sorceries—and exercised them in and upon the body of Jonas Quant, son of Richard Quant, of Ipswich, shoemaker, so that the said Jonas became lame, sick, and imbecile in body and members. The jury, however, found that Jonas was suffering from natural causes.

Presbyterian and Puritan divines believed in the existence of witchcraft. Mr. Salmon, rector of Erwarton, at a meeting of Presbyterian divines held at Bergholt, October 2nd, 1588—

"moved how he might know a witche, it was thought fittest to give it over to some Justice to examine it, and that there must be some usuall experience of evell effectes to ensue of their displeasure and some presumption of the death of man or beast; some said she might be found out by serche in her bodie, some thought that to be fancy in the people easilie conceiving such a thing and to be reproved in them."

There are instances of witches who were given over to the justices of Ipswich to be examined with cruel and unfortunate results. *The Confessions of Mother Lakeland* is a well-known pamphlet. The indictments against her, as recorded in the Ipswich court books, give us the true character of the proceedings. Mary Lakeland lived in the parish of St. Stephen's, Ipswich, and was married to one John Lakeland, barber, before

the year 1592. She was probably over seventy years of age when her trial took place at Bury St. Edmunds in 1645. Another poor woman, Alice Denham, was tried at the same assizes. The entries referring to the cases are as follows:—

3 July, 1645.	Oliver Reeve, clerk of Colchester William Bull, jun., grocer ... Joseph Ward, cooper ... ... Stephen Johnson, tailor ...	bound in £10	to appear against Mary Lakeland.
12 July, 1645.	Edward Martyn, cordwainer ... William Nunn, sherman ... Peter Cole, tanner ... ... Henry Wright	do.	to appear against Alice Denham.

The various charges or offences laid against these women were:—

Mary Lakeland for witchcraft and murder of William Laurence, Elizabeth Alldham, and Sarah Clarke:

for casting away Henry Reade's ship and murdering the said Reade and divers persons unknown:

for traitorous murdering of John Lakeland her husband. (*Incendetur ad cindres!* Let her be burned to ashes!):

for wasting the body of John Beale and burning his ship:

for nourishing of evil spirits.

Alice Denham, widow, for felony, witchcraft, and for feeding of imps, was found guilty. (*Ideo suspendetur.* Therefore let her be hanged!)

Other unfortunates who were persecuted for witchcraft, but escaped the punishment of death, were:—

Margery, wife of James Sutton, for felony and witcherye. (*Ignoramus*—non-proven.) Sureties for good behaviour required.

Rose Parker, wife of Christopher Parker, for witchcraft and murder of John Cole. (Not guilty.)

for felony, and feeding of imps. (Not guilty.)

James Emerson and Mary his wife, for witchcraft and for sending lice to Mary and Robert Ward. (A year's imprisonment and four times standing on the pillory.)

Mary Emerson, for sending lice upon John Seeley (not guilty).

James Emerson, for witchcraft and murder of Richard Graye (not guilty).

After the trial, condemnation, and punishment of these wretched persons, the justices of Ipswich summed

up the expenses which had been incurred, and, considering the greatness of the sum and the blessings conferred upon the inhabitants by ridding the town of evil-doers, it was decided by the court of the borough to issue the following order:—

"Forasmuch as there hath been much money laid out by several persons within this Town by the Order and appointment of Mr. Bayliffes (Richard Pupplett and Joseph Pemberton) in the searching, watching and further prosecuting of divers persons of this Town suspected for Witches, and in bringing of them to a legal trial at this Sessions. And whereas also at the General Gaol delivery now lately holden at Bury it was the direction and order of the Judge and Court there in the same case that the charge of prosecuting Witches should be a General Charge. It is now therefore ordered That the Charge of searching, watching and prosecuting by the Order and Direction of the Bayliffs or Justices of Peace of this Town shall be borne by the inhabitants of this Town as a General Charge. And in pursuance thereof and for the repayment of the moneys already laid out and to be laid out in this behalf It is now further ordered That the Churchwardens and Overseers of the several parishes of this town do presently collect one fortnight's pay according to their weekly single rates for their poor and make payment thereof immediately unto Richard Sheppard of the Tower parish who is to issue out the same again to the purposes aforesaid as he shall receive direction by warrant under the hands of Mr. Bailiffs from time to time."

The execution of the so-called "witches" in 1645 exceeded in number those of the Protestants who suffered at the stake in any one year in the reign of Queen Mary. This persecution was mainly attributable to the instigations and mercenary motives of the Witch-finder-General, John Hopkins. The Aldeburgh Borough Records for that year mention the expenditure of the following sums:—

		£	s.	d.
1645.	To Goody Phillips for her pains in searching out witches	1	0	0
,,	To Widow Phillips, the search woman, for giving evidence	1	5	0
,,	To John Paine for hanging seven witches	0	11	0
,,	To William Dannell for the gallows and setting them up	1	0	0
,,	For a post to set by the grave of the dead bodies that were hanged and for burying of them	0	6	0
,,	Received of Mr. Newgate in part for trying a witch ...	4	0	0
,,	Received of Mr. Richard Browne by the hands of Mr. Bailiff Johnson in part for trying a witch	4	0	0
,,	To Mr. Hopkyns in the town for finding out witches ...	2	0	0

In spite of the abomination in which they held witchcraft, the Aldeburgh folk did not hesitate to pay five shillings

"to one Richards, a poor man, to go to *the woman of Stowmarket* for the remedy of his disease, although William Spring, writing to Framlingham Gawdy, considered such a person 'Whom country-folk call a Good Woman, a pretended physician, chirurgeon and Blesser.'"

Two Puritan divines—Edmund Calamy, author of the *Nonconformist Memorial*, and Samuel Fairclough, rector of Ketton—were present at the assizes held at Bury in 1645 to see that the prisoners received a fair trial.

The concluding paragraph of a brochure, published in 1682, on the trial of the Lowestoft witches, Amy Duny and Rose Cullender, at the Bury St. Edmunds Assizes before Judge Hale, 1664, is worth recording, as it shews that some men were courageous enough to plead on behalf of these women, and also as it casts a slur on the conduct of the judge which needs correction. The paragraph runs thus:—

"Several gentlemen—Mr. Sergeant Keeling, and an ingenious person who objected that the children might counterfeit this their distemper, were unsatisfied with the evidence; upon which an experiment to see whether the afflicted children recognised blindfold Amy Duny's touch, having failed, Lord Cornwallis, Sir Edmund Bacon, Mr. Sergeant Keeling, and others, openly protested 'that they did believe the whole transaction of this business was a mere imposture.' But Mr. Pacy's (a dissenting minister) arguments, and those of the learned Dr. Brown, of Norwich, prevailed. Sir Matthew Hale summed up against the prisoners, who were condemned to be hanged."

In a manuscript book of anecdotes collected by Arthur Onslow, Speaker of the House of Commons, is the following note referring to the conduct of Sir Matthew Hale at the above trial:—

"He had some weaknesses, and gave in to the sottish belief of witches, a superstition that age had been much addicted to. He condemned some persons at the Assizes for the County of Suffolk, and suffered them to be put to death, who had been convicted before him of witchcraft; but it appears by the account of the trial that though he declared his belief of witches, he had some uneasiness about him, and *did not sum up the evidence* to the jury, a very unusual thing; and I have been told that he was afterwards much altered in his notions, and had much concern upon him for what had befallen these persons."

APPENDIX A (See page 9).

Objects found on the site of a Roman Villa in Castle Field, Burgh, near Woodbridge, and represented in the illustration.

1.—Bronze pin, head set with native red amber, 2½ ins.

2.—Bronze lyre-shaped fibula, 2 ins.

3.—Bronze fibula, with pin, enamelled (Celtic type), 3 ins.

4.—Side and front view of No. 3.

5.—Bronze fibula with pin (modern safety-pin type), 1½ ins.

6.—Pair of bronze tweezers, 2½ ins.

7.—Portion of bronze fibula, embossed.

8 & 9.—Two bronze ornaments from chatelaine (? for nail cleaning), 2½ ins.

10.—Handle of ligula, 4½ ins.

11.—Knife with ornamented bone haft, riveted, 5½ ins.

12.—Portion of pseudo-Samian ware depicting a hunting scene.

Among other articles found on the site of the excavations at Burgh, near Woodbridge, were :—

Two bronze hair-pins, 5½ ins. and 4¾ ins. ; bone stylus for ornamenting pottery ; three bronze hair-pins with calyx eyes, 4½ ins. ; earthen plug or stopper, 1½ ins. ; two bone pins, 4 ins. ; bronze needle, 2 ins. ; bronze ring, diameter 1 in. ; bronze fibulæ, with pins, embossed, 2 ins. and 1½ ins. ; bronze hair-pin with wire-thread head, 8 ins. ; iron roof-nails ; iron tool head ; various pieces of window glass and fragments of glass vessels ; pseudo-Samian ware with the following potters' marks :—

OCRUCUR (from the workshop of Cossus Rufus),
MIIM (of Maximus),
COSRUF (Cossus Rufus),
PBURRIO (from the workshop of Publius Burrus),

rim and lip of mortarium (diameter 10 ins.), potter's mark MAXII (of Maximus) ; numerous tesseræ retaining on their surface remains of the white cement in which they were embedded ; a quantity of hypocaust tiling ; wall plaster coloured red, yellow, green, and black ; a perfect roof-tile embedded in the earth sixteen feet below the surface, and lying six feet below a causeway of flint cobble-stones ; two small coins of Emperor Valentinian, A.D. 364-375, which probably mark the date of the final occupation of the site by the Romans.

APPENDIX B.—Danegeld Assessments (See page 29).

(*a*) Hundred of Thedwastre, formed 6 Leets.

I. *Leet.*

Livermere	12d.	19d.	41d.
Ampton	7d.		
Timworth	14d.	22d.	
Fornham, S. Genevieve	8d.		

II. *Leet.*

Barton	27d.	40½d.	
Rushbrook	7d.	13½d.	
Fornham, S. Martin	6½d.		

III. *Leet.*

Pakenham	13½d.	40d.
Thurston	16d.	
Tostock	10½d.	

IV. *Leet.*

Hesset	18d.	40d.	
Beyton			
Woolpit	11d.	22d.	
Drinkstone	11d.		

V. *Leet.*

Rattlesden	20d.	40d.	
Geddinge	5d.	10d.	
Felsham	5d.		
Bradfield magna	5d.	10d.	
Bradfield parva	5d.		

VI. *Leet.*

Rougham	20d.	40d.	
Whelnetham magna	10d.		
Whelnetham parva			
Stanefeld	10d.		

(*b*) Half Hundred of Cosford, formed 8 Leets.

I. *Leet.*

Layham	7½d.	15d.
Layham	4½d.	
Maneton	3d.	

II. *Leet.*

Hadleigh	11½d.	15d.	
Lafham	3½d.		
Beniton			

III. *Leet.*

Aldham	15d.	15d.
Elmsett		

IV. *Leet.*

Aldham ferding	6d.	15d.	
Ash Street	1½d.		
Kersey	7½d.		

V. *Leet.*

Semer	2½d.	15d.	
Nedging	2½d.		
Navelton	10d.		
Whatfield			

VI. *Leet.*

Bildeston	5d.	14¾d.	
Chelsworth	3¾d.		
Lelesley	6d.		

VII. *Leet.*

Hitcham	15d.	15d.	
Wattisham			
Ketlebaston			

VIII. *Leet.*

Brettenham	10d.	15d.	
Thorp	5d.		
Rushbrook			

APPENDIX C (See page 44).

Suffolk ships which assembled June, 1338, at Goseford (Bawdsey) for the expedition to Flanders :—

PLACE.	MASTER OF SHIP.	NAME.	MEN.	PAY FOR 27 DAYS. £	s.	d.
Goseford	William Brian	Burmayden	45	16	4	0
	Robert Courteller	Malote	38	13	16	9
	William Scot	Godyer	38	13	16	9
	Ranulph Rodberd	Cogge Johanne	30	11	2	9
	William le Waller	Isabel	31	11	6	1
	Hugh le Taillour	Laurence	33	12	3	0
	Thomas Godwyne	Godale	48	17	0	10½
	Ranulph Southerne	St. Mary Cogge	25	9	5	7½
	Robert Hastus	Sanneye	46	16	7	4
	Ranulph Gardiner	Saffray	31	11	6	1½
	Robert Yper	Elene	40	14	6	10½
	Robert de Halle	Margarete	27	9	19	1½
	William le Rede	Berthelmew	20	7	11	10½
	William Fafhus	Rose	31	11	2	9
	Ranulph Haskes	Katerine	26	9	12	4½
Donewich	Roger Hode	Rode Cogge	43	15	3	9
	Andrew Litester	Godbefor	40	14	3	6
	William Tutepeny	Sentemariebot	31	11	16	1
	John Tutepeny	Godyer	31	11	2	9
	John Frese, sen.	Welfare	31	11	2	9
	Stephen Batman	Margarete	23	8	12	1½
	William Crele	Katerine	20	7	11	10½
	Edward Sorel	Margaret	15	5	11	4½
	Stephen Ferese	Plente	28	10	5	10½
Oreford	Richard Parker	Leonard	50	17	10	0
	William Danne	Rose	41	14	10	3
	John Vynter	Nicholas	33	11	16	3
	Walter de Hewell	Katerine	45	15	17	3
	Robert Gentilman	James	33	11	16	3
	Geoffrey Gadegrave	St. Marie Cogge	36	6	5	1
Hadleye	Laurence Worel	Nicholas	19	7	5	1½
Ipswich	William Seward	Marie	29	14	0	1½
	John Rudde	Mariote	14	5	4	7½
	Roger Bartholot	Sarote	23	8	8	9
	Alexander Adam	James	31	14	10	3
	John Pyk	St. Mary Lodeship	42	14	17	0
	Richard Priour	Magdalene	28	10	5	10½
	Semann Waldry	Peter	34	12	3	0
	Alexander Nover	Waynpayn	27	9	15	9
	John del Stone	Margarete	39	14	0	1½

Total—40 ships, 1,295 men.

APPENDIX D (See page 44).

Expenses of the Court when at Walton, July 12th to July 17th inclusive, Ed. III. (1338) :—

		Dispens.			Butilla.			Garder.			Coquina.			Scutillia.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Sunday –	July 12th	1	8	3¼	7	8	10	2	18	6	12	3	2½	0	11	4
Monday –	,, 13th	1	2	7½	7	3	0	1	13	9	8	4	4	1	0	8
Tuesday –	,, 14th	1	2	7½	7	3	0	1	4	6	11	4	7½	0	6	7
Wednesday	,, 15th	1	1	10½	7	3	0	1	10	5½	8	6	8	0	4	4
Thursday –	,, 16th	1	1	10½	7	3	0	1	8	0	8	12	1	0	9	8
Friday –	,, 17th	1	1	10½	7	3	0	2	7	5½	5	4	3	1	0	0

		Salsaria.			Hablm.			Vadia.			Elemos.			Total.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Sunday –	July 12th	0	5	2	13	9	10	5	6	1	0	4	0	44	5	2¾
Monday –	,, 13th	0	2	9	11	7	4	5	6	1	0	4	0	36	5	6½
Tuesday –	,, 14th	0	3	7½	11	7	4	5	6	1	0	4	0	38	2	4½
Wednesday	,, 15th	0	2	9	11	7	4	5	6	1	0	4	0	35	6	6½
Thursday –	,, 16th	0	3	10	11	7	4	5	6	1	0	4	0	35	15	10½
Friday –	,, 17th	0	2	1	11	7	4	5	6	1	0	4	0	33	16	1

The expedition for Flanders set sail for the mouth of the Humber (*portus aque de Swynhumber*) on Saturday, the 18th July ; was at Yarmouth on the 19th of the same month, at Antwerp on the 21st July, at Malyns on 14th August, and returned to Antwerp on the 16th August. The total household expenses for the expedition amounted to £794 19s. 1½d.

The Suffolk foot contingent was not great, for the county had provided its full share of the naval equipment and muster. It is probable that Suffolk men were to be found in the companies of :—

John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, who received wages for twelve archers, whose daily wage was 2d. when assembling in England from 25th March to the 14th April following, and 3d. when abroad from 15th April to the 27th May in the same year.

Ralph de Neville, who received wages for thirty archers who fought on horseback. The pay for each man was 6d. a day.

Sir Robert de Mildenhalle, who received wages for twenty-four horsemen, each receiving 6d. a day.

John de Norton, who commanded 220 bannermen (*homines de pencello*) and 113 footmen : wages £482 12s. 6d.

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